K. G. SAIYIDA

Iqbal has focussed the attention of all serious students of modern thought on the rich contribution which he has made to the complicated problems of the age.

His educational ideas are not however presented in a separate and self-completed system but must be extracted from the rich ore of poetry in which they are often submerged. The author has attempted to glean from the poet's various writings a systematic account of his ideas about and attitude towards various problems of education.

This book will be a valuable help in giving a clear insight into Iqbal's philosophy.



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Business & Advertising Manager
OMAR MAHMOOD
12-Golf Road, G.O.R.I, Lahore.

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IQBAL'S
EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

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BY

K. G. SAIYIDAIN, B.A., M.Ed., D.Litt.

☆

SH. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
KASHMIRI BAZAR - LAHORE (PAKISTAN)

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DEDICATED

TO

THE DEEPLY LOVED AND REVERED MEMORY

OF

IQBAL

GREAT POET, GREAT PHILOSOPHER, GREAT MUSLIM

AND GREAT HUMANIST

Lahore
21st June 1936

My dear Sayyidain,

Thanks for your letter which I recd. a moment ago. Your summary is excellent & I have got nothing to add. My ضرب کلیم will, I hope, be published about the end of June & I will send you ~~a copy the manuscript of~~ an advance copy. This collection has a part devoted to تعلیم و تربیت. You may not find anything new in it; yet if it reaches you in time you may read the portion mentioned above.

I suppose you are aware of the Educational implications of Leibnitz's monadism. According to him the monad (the mind of man) is a closed window incapable of ~~receiving internal~~ absorbing external forces. My view is that the monad is essentially assimilative in its nature. Time is a great blessing (لا تسبوا الدہر ان الدہر ہو اللہ — حدیث). While it kills & destroys it also expands & brings out the hidden possibilities of things. The possibility of change is the greatest asset of man in his present surroundings.

Yours Sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

P.S. My general health has much improved. The improvement in the voice is slow.

Iq.

Letter from Dr. Iqbal to the author on perusal of a summary of the book.

(Reproduction of the letter on opposite page)

Lahore
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Yours sincerely
Mohammad Iqbal

P. S. My general health has much improved. The improvement in the voice is slow.

PREFACE

Iqbal's name has already passed into a legend. He is a figure of legendary greatness amongst the poets of India and Pakistan and his incisive thought has won a great deal of attention and respect amongst discerning students of philosophy as well as contemporary problems both here and abroad. I was deeply impressed, like numerous others, with the irresistible appeal of his poetry in my adolescence and the spell has since remained unbroken. But, as the years have rolled by and I have had occasion to study and think about various social, political, educational and cultural problems—national as well as international—I have become more deeply impressed with and conscious of the essential soundness of his values and the validity of his approach. The gradual unfolding of history—as the present has merged into the past and the future has come within the ken of the present—and the emergence of many new forces, beneficial and destructive, have revealed how unerring was his insight into the nature of the issues by which our age is confronted. I am not, however, quite sure whether all the recognition and acclaim—sometimes bordering on adulation—that he has received has been informed by critical and intelligent study. Or, that his enthusiastic admirers have really grasped the view of human life and destiny that he has formulated and given their allegiance to the basic values and ideals that he has preached. In fact, my apprehension is that many of them have not gone beyond an emotional or aesthetic enjoyment of his poetry or they have merely read into it the meanings that they wanted to.

This makes it all the more necessary that, in addition to this aesthetic appreciation, there should be a critical and clear headed examination of his thought in all its ramifications and its implications for the contemporary scene should carefully be worked out. In this book, I have made an attempt—with

what success, I do not know—to deal with one particular aspect of his thought, *i.e.*, its bearings on our educational thinking and situation—not so much the influence which it has *actually* exercised as its possible and potential implications. As I have pointed out in the Introduction, every coherent system of creative thought has a message for the educational system of a nation and, so far as Iqbal is concerned, I am convinced that he has a point of view and a philosophy of life which is of great value for education and it can infuse a new life and vitality into it. I feel that it is a matter of great cultural loss to India as to Pakistan that many quite highly educated persons are not well acquainted with his ideas and my main object in writing this book has been to share with my fellow teachers and educators what I consider to be educationally significant aspects of his thought. Since the first edition of this book was published in 1938, it has had a fair measure of popularity. The second edition of the book was exhausted within a year and the third edition, which was published in 1945, had to contend against all the upheavals and cultural dislocation that followed the partition of India in 1947. The fourth edition was considerably delayed but, thanks to the publisher's persistence, it was published in 1954 and the fifth edition in 1960. I have not since then had the time to undertake a thorough revision of the book as I would have liked to do. I do hope, however, that educationists in India and Pakistan, who are seriously exercised about the problem of educational reconstruction in their countries, will give thoughtful consideration to the rich contribution which Iqbal can make to our educational ideology. Like all great and creative poets and thinkers, Iqbal has an appeal which transcends geographical boundaries and his message is one of universal humanism. But he certainly has a special significance for the peoples of these two countries whose problems and culture had provided the immediate framework of his thinking.

Iqbal died before the first edition of this book could be

published and it was, therefore, denied the privilege of his perusal. I had, however, sent him a synopsis of the book which he was good enough to read and he wrote back to say: "This is an excellent summary (of my ideas) and I have nothing to add." This makes me feel that, whatever the inadequacies of my presentation, the general interpretation that I have put on his thinking had met with his approval. I venture to hope that those who claim to admire Iqbal will also pay to his memory the tribute of studying his educational ideas intelligently and critically.

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K. G. Saiyidain

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INTRODUCTION

IN this book I propose to examine the educational implications of the philosophical ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal whom I consider to be one of the greatest poets and thinkers of the present age. His remarkable genius as a poet has received an adequate measure of recognition and has won the enthusiastic admiration of all those, both in India and Pakistan, who are conversant with Urdu and Persian, the two languages which he utilizes with equal grace and facility for the expression of his poetic ideas. Through Nicholson's English translation of his well-known *masnavi* '*Asrar-i-Khudi*' (The Secrets of the Self), some portions of *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Message of the East) as well as a few other, more recent, translations of his selected poems and his thoughtful *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, he became known to a much wider circle, including interested academic circles in the West. His poetry combines so happily an elucidation of the eternal values, with which great poets and thinkers are always concerned, and a discussion of urgent contemporary problems and issues that one can confidently prophesy an increasing popularity and influence for his work.

I do not, however, think that sufficient and careful attention has so far been given to an elucidation of his philosophical thought and the working out of its practical implications. This is true in spite of the fairly large number of books that have been written during the last few decades about him. Of course, some even regard such an approach to a *poet's* work as unwarranted. They hold that poetry, like other fine arts, has no 'message' to impart; it is a lyrical expression of a poet's emotional experiences and moods and does not lend itself to any philosophical interpretation or analysis. It is, for them, its own sufficient justification and does not need the psychologist's examination. There may

be something to be said for this 'delicate' aesthetic point of view, but Iqbal himself has no patience with such a narrow, traditional approach to poetry. For him poetry, like all fine arts, is genuine and significant only when it impinges dynamically on life, deepening its appreciation, quickening its pulse, and illuminating its fundamental purposes with insight—Art, not for the sake of Art, but for the sake of a fuller and more abundant life :

اے اہلِ نظر ذوقِ نظر خوب ہے لیکن   جو شے کی حقیقت کو نہ دیکھے وہ نظر کیا

مقصودِ ہنر سوزِ حیاتِ ابدی ہے   یہ ایک نفس یا دو نفس مثلِ شرر کیا!

جس سے دلِ دریا متلاطم نہیں ہوتا   اے قطرۂ نیساں وہ صدف کیا وہ گہر کیا!

بے معجزہ دُنیا میں اُبھرتی نہیں قومیں   جو ضربِ کلیمی نہیں رکھتا وہ ہُنر کیا!

Men of vision, it is good to have an eye for beauty,
But the eye that perceives not Reality has no vision !
Art yearns for the immortal life,
And not for this fleeting breath, transitory like the spark !
O 'Spring rain', the shell and the pearl are both worthless
If they do not throw the heart of the river into a ferment !
Nations do not revive without miracles
And Art is dead if it lacks the vigour of Moses' stroke.[1]

Moreover, we have to remember that Iqbal is not merely a lyrical poet, transforming into beautiful verse, the wayward whims and fleeting emotions of the human heart. He is also a keen thinker and philosopher, primarily concerned not with abstract and remote issues and speculations, which have no bearing on the living problems of the present, but bringing the wealth of his vital intelligence and trained mind to bear on those problems and to suggest possible solutions in the

1. *Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 117.

light of what he regards as the basic values of individual or collective life. It will be a poor and partial recognition of his great genius if we allow ourselves to be lost in merely contemplating the visible beauty which his poetry conjures up before our vision. In his case, an examination and understanding of the content is, at least, as important as the appreciation of the form—if such a division of thought into form and content can at all be regarded as valid.

But all this may, at best, be taken as a plea for the study of Iqbal's *philosophical* thought, and one may concede that point but still ask: Why should one undertake a study of Iqbal's *educational* philosophy, when Iqbal is not an educationist in the limited everyday meaning of the word and was never engaged—except for a comparatively brief period—in teaching? Nor, it may be confessed, has he put forward anywhere, in a consistent and closely knit form, any comprehensive educational theory. The answer to this objection is twofold. Firstly, we have to understand clearly the real meaning and scope of the much used—and *abused*!—term, Education. It is usually interpreted to mean the limited process of teaching and learning which goes on, somewhat mechanically, within the precincts of the schools and colleges. But this is obviously an incomplete and unsatisfactory view. It does *not* take into account all those formative social and personal influences which shape and powerfully modify the ideas and conduct of groups and individuals. Education, in its full and correct signification, must be visualized as the sum total of all the cultural forces which play on the life of the individual and the community. If this is clearly understood, it follows that the emergence of an outstanding creative thinker, who has a distinctive message to give or new values to present before the world, is a phenomenon of the greatest interest for the educationist, and the more his ideas catch the imagination, the understanding and the enthusiasm of his contemporaries, the greater must be his influence as an educative force. Secondly, every

philosophy in so far as it throws any light on the problems of life and human destiny, implies and postulates a philosophy of education, since both are concerned—from their respective angles of vision, no doubt—with similar issues and problems, *e.g.*, the meaning and purpose of human life, the relation of the individual to the community and to his environment, the problem of values, etc. Any coherent system of ideas, therefore, which provides guidance in facing these problems or offers a thoughtful criticism of existing institutions, culture, social practices and ways of thought must necessarily modify—in so far as we accept that line of thought—the basis of our educational theory and practice. For, education is, after all, engaged in the process of critically evaluating and effectively transmitting the cultural heritage, knowledge and ideas of a social group to its young members, thereby securing the continuity of collective life and culture and ensuring their intelligent, creative reconstruction. How can the educationist be indifferent, then, to the philosophical ideas of a thinker like Iqbal, who is preoccupied with the critical examination of this very problem of man's development and proper orientation which is the special field of the education ?

It is with the strong conviction that Iqbal has a valuable contribution to make to the solution of the ever recurring but ever fresh problems of education—particularly as they impinge on the modern mind—that I have endeavoured to elucidate some of the most important and significant trends of his thought and to work out their implications for education. As one ponders over the deeper implications of his philosophy, as one studies his unravelling of the meaning of the great drama of human evolution and the creative role played by man in it, one is apt to catch one's breath in wonder and fascination at the prospect so revealed. And then one turns, with impatience and dismay, equalling Iqbal's own, to the pitiful, groping and often misdirected efforts made by education to fit man for his great destiny! A radical, thoroughgoing reconstruction of educational aims and methods is,

therefore, imperatively called for, and although Iqbal does not provide—as we cannot reasonably expect a poet to provide—any definite educational technique or methodology, he does what is far more valuable and significant: he directs our attention to those basic and fundamental principles of education which underlie all sound educational practices. And it would be interesting for educational workers to see that, when we work out the practical implications of these educational principles, they often turn out to be in harmony with the views which many great modern educationists have expressed about the problems of schooling, although their line of approach may be entirely different from Iqbal's. This is but another demonstration of the important fact that every age has its special needs, urgencies and characteristics which demand, no matter how they are viewed, a certain pattern of educational orientation for realizing its basic purposes.

This task of interpreting his thought is rendered peculiarly difficult on account of the fact that it is mainly enshrined in his poetry. With the exception of his *Lectures*, almost all his other works are collections of Urdu and Persian poems and poetry is, by its nature, a much more elusive and sensitive medium of expression than prose. It has greater emotional fervour and it can convey subtler shades of emotions and ideas. But it does not possess the same objectivity or precision of thought as a piece of careful, systematic, lucid prose. It lends itself to a greater variety of interpretations which may well yield keener aesthetic pleasure but are often apt to obscure intellectual clarity. I have always been a fervent admirer of Iqbal's poetry and ideas. This is something of a handicap in attempting a critical and objective appraisal, of which I am fully conscious. My point of view is, therefore, naturally coloured to *some* extent by this admiration, and possibly the meanings that I have read into his poetry may be unconsciously somewhat biased. But I have exercised one important, compensating caution—I have been careful to attach to his verses the meanings which the *general*

trend of his ideas seem to justify. For, unlike many other poets, Iqbal's poetry possesses a coherence and unity of its own; it does not register the wayward and fleeting whims and moods of the moment. In the case of many other poets a certain verse may mean one of several possible things, and sometimes nothing at all! With Iqbal every important verse has a definite meaning and it can, if properly understood, be fitted into the general system of his ideas. His poetry is not to be viewed like a mechanically put together crossword puzzle: it has a unity of emotional and intellectual outlook and springs from deep, fundamental sources of faith and understanding. Its careful perusal will as amply repay the students of philosophy and education as the seeker after poetic beauty who will discover in its inexhaustible sources of delight and enjoyment.

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUALITY

NO one can develop any intelligent theory of education without consciously postulating some conception of the nature of the individual to be educated, his relationship to the community and, what may be called, his ultimate destiny. For, the essence of the educative process, reduced to its most elementary terms, lies in the fact of a living human organism being in constant inter-action and contact with a vast and complex environment, which keeps on changing and growing as a result of this continuous, mutual intercourse. Like the philosopher, the educator must necessarily inquire into the nature of these two terms of his activity—the Individual and the Environment—which ultimately determine the solution of all his problems.

We have, therefore, to examine, in the first place, Iqbal's conception of the nature and the function of the individual who is the object of the educator's attention. In order to do so, we must first elucidate his concept of "Ego" or "Individuality" which is one of the basic concepts of his philosophy and on which the rest of his thought-structure rests. This was first presented by him, in a popular but forceful and coherent form, in his Persian *masnavi* '*Asrar-i-Khudi*' (The Secrets of the Self) and it has been subsequently developed in his poetical works and, more systematically in his *Lectures*. In fact, it recurs like a constant refrain in all his poetry, whether Urdu or Persian. It is necessary to examine his doctrine of Individuality at some length not only because of its intrinsic importance in his system of thought but also because, for various reasons, psychology, biology and educational theory have all laid special stress on it in recent years. Further, the development of mass movements and dictator-

ships, with the many difficult issues precipitated by them, have given this problem an increased political significance. Many of the modern political, industrial and scientific movements have tended to suppress Individuality in various ways. Consequently, educational and social thinkers who are concerned about the preservation of the values of human culture and personality are naturally preoccupied with the problem of reasserting the primacy of Individuality in life. As a humanist, sensitive to the great possibilities of growth and expansion open to the human spirit, Iqbal has inevitably devoted a great deal of his attention to this question in all its aspects.

To him *Khudi* (literally, Self-hood, or Individuality) is a real and pre-eminently significant entity which is the centre and basis of the entire organization of human life. Some schools of thought, philosophical and religious, have tended to belittle the reality of the Self regarding it as a mere illusion of the mind, not possessing any abiding significance of its own. Thus both pantheism and pseudo-mysticism, as they developed in the East as well as the West, looked upon it as a mere fragment of the Eternal Mind, constantly striving for reabsorption into it. The English disciples of Hegel, as well as those who believed in the doctrine of Pantheism, were also of opinion that the highest objective and ideal of man is to lose his individual identity in the Absolute, like the drop which slips into the ocean and ceases to exist as an individual entity. This view is definitely rejected by Iqbal who considers these movements of thought to be misleading as intellectual hypotheses and dangerous in their socio-political implications. He is definitely of the view that the negation of the Self, or its absorption into the Eternal Self, should *not* be man's moral or religious ideal; he should, instead, strive to retain his infinitely precious Individuality and to strengthen it by cultivating his originality and uniqueness. "The End of Ego's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise defini-

tion of it."[1] Discussing the well known words of Hallaj, ("I am the Creative Truth") he points out that the proper orientation of human experience "is not the drop slipping into the sea but the realization and bold affirmation . . . of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality."[2]

This movement towards the achievement of a profounder individuality is not confined to man alone. Iqbal finds it clearly expressed in the development of *all* living organisms. "Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of ego-hood till it reaches its perfection[3] in man."[4] Like the philosopher Bergson, the educationist Nunn and many of the leading biologists, he believes that all living organisms are struggling to achieve a more complex and perfect individuality. In man, the creative impulse has triumphed enabling him to develop powers which have opened up before him possibilities of unlimited growth and freedom :

ہر چیز ہے محوِ خود نمائی   ہر ذرّہ شہیدِ کبریائی!
بے ذوقِ نمود زندگی موت   تعمیرِ خودی میں ہے خدائی!
رائی زورِ خودی سے پربت   پربت ضعفِ خودی سے رائی!
اک تو ہے کہ حق ہے اس جہاں میں   باقی ہے نمودِ سیمیائی!

Everything is preoccupied with self-expression,
Every atom a candidate for greatness!

1. *Lectures*, p. 187. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
3. "Perfection" should, in the context of Iqbal's thought, be interpreted here as *relative* perfection.
4. *Lectures*, p. 68.

Life without this impulse spells death;
By the perfection of his individuality man becomes like God!
The force of individuality makes the mustard seed into a mountain
Its weakening reduces the mountain into a mustard seed!
Thou alone art the Reality in this Universe,
All the rest is a mirage![1]

In fact, his criterion of the degree of "reality" of any living organism is the extent to which it has achieved the feeling of a distinct egohood. "Only that truly exists which can say 'I am.' It is the degree of the intuition of I-am-ness that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being."[2] Thus he agrees with Bergson that "individuality is a matter of degrees and is not fully realized even in the case of the apparently closed-off unity of the human being." In his *Asrar-i-Khudi*, he reverts to this theme again and again, and discovers the true meaning of the evolutionary process in this striving towards the achievement of a fuller and richer individuality:

چون حیاتِ عالم از زورِ خودی است   پس بقدرِ استواری زندگی است
قطره چون حرفِ خودی از بر کند   هستیٔ بے مایہ را گوہر کند
سبزہ چون تابِ دمید از خویش یافت   ہمّتِ او سینۂ گلشن شگافت
چون زمین بر ہستیٔ خود محکم است   ماہ پابندِ طوافِ پیہم است
ہستیٔ مہر از زمین محکم تر است   پس زمین مسحورِ چشمِ خاور است

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 79.

2. *Lectures*, p. 53.

چوں خودی آرد بہم نیروئے زیست   می کشاید قلزمے از جوئے زیست

Since the life of the Universe comes from the strength of the self
Life is in proportion to this strength;
When a drop of water gets the self's lesson by heart
It makes its worthless existence a pearl!
As the grass discovered the power of growth in its self,
Its aspiration clove the breast of the garden!
Because the Earth has a being that is firm
The captive moon goes round it perpetually!
The being of the Sun is stronger than that of the Earth,
Therefore is the Earth bewitched by the Sun's eye!
When Life gathers strength from the self,
The river of life expands into an ocean.[1]

Of all the living creatures, however, man has achieved the highest measure of individuality and is most conscious of his own reality. "The nature of the ego is such that, in spite of its capacity to respond to other egos, it is self-centred and possesses a private circuit of individuality excluding all egos other than itself"—a view which is quite different from the pantheistic doctrines about the nature of the relationship between the Self and the Universe. So strong and emphatic is his belief in the value and permanence of the human individuality that he rejects unhesitatingly the view that the highest ambition and bliss for the finite individuality of man is to be lost or immersed in the Infinite or the Absolute which is the doctrine of Nirvana and the ideal consummation as envisaged by the Sufi. "It is with the irreplaceable singleness of his individuality that the finite ego will approach the Infinite ego to see for himself the consequences of his past actions."[2] Thus, according to this view, the highest aim of education as of other social and cultural movements should be to strengthen the individuality of all persons so that they may realize their full possibilities.

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 14-15.

2. *Lectures*, p. 111.

Before discussing how this development of individuality can be facilitated, it would be well to enquire why Iqbal's thought has been directed into this particular channel. He finds an emphatic sanction for it, in the first place, in the basic teachings of Islam. The Quranic concept of the human ego, he points out, stresses in its simple and forceful manner "the individuality and uniqueness of man and has . . . a definite view of his destiny as a unity of life".[1] In the *higher* Sufism of Islam, which is different from Sufism as commonly understood—"unitive experience is not the finite ego, effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the Infinite Ego; it is rather the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite . . ."[2] Iqbal is, however, fully aware of the fact that the doctrine of the negation of the Self has crept into, and coloured, Muslim thought, although it is essentially inconsistent with the spirit of Islam which is described by Iqbal "anti-classical." He points out how the Quran is empirical in its attitude and holds that "in the domain of knowledge, scientific or religious, complete independence of thought from concrete experience is not possible". Thus it seeks to give a feeling of reverence for *the actual,* an approach responsible for making the Muslims of the earlier era the founders of modern science. But the slow permeation of the classic spirit of the Greek culture into Muslim thought tended to obscure the true vision of the Quran. While Socrates and Plato despised sense preception which, according to them "yielded mere opinion and no real knowledge," Iqbal holds that the development of an active individuality is impossible except in contact with a dynamic and concrete environment. He impeaches Plato as "that old philosopher of the sheep," because he deprecated a life of active striving in this world of concrete forces and phenomena. He refused to accept it as a challenging and stimulating setting for human activity, and advocated instead a life of contemplation and "pure" thought, which was confined only to the free citizens who could afford it:

1. *Lectures*, p. 90.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

فکرِ افلاطون زیان را سود گفت　　حکمتِ او بود را نابود گفت

بس کہ از ذوقِ عمل محروم بود　　جانِ او وارفتۂ معدوم بود

منکرِ ہنگامۂ موجود گشت　　خالقِ اعیانِ نامشہود گشت

زندہ جاں را عالمِ امکاں خوش است　　مُردہ دل را عالمِ اعیاں خوش است

راہبِ ما چارہ غیر از رم نداشت　　طاقتِ غوغائے ایں عالم نداشت

قوم ہا از سُکرِ او مسموم گشت　　خُفت و از ذوقِ عمل محروم گشت

The thought of Plato regarded loss as a profit
His philosophy declared that being is non-being.
Since he was without any taste for action
His soul was enraptured by the non-existent.
He disbelieved in the material universe
And became the creator of invisible Ideas.
Sweet is the world of living phenomena to the living spirit,
Dear is the world of ideas to the dead spirit.
Our ascetic had no recourse but flight,
For he had not the power to face this world's storm.
The peoples were poisoned by his intoxication,
They slumbered and took no delight in action.[1]

It was a profound study of the decadence which characterised most of the Eastern nations in general, and the Muslims in particular, during the last two centuries, which made him emphasize so strongly the doctrine of Individuality. He was driven to the conclusion that this feeling of frustration and despair, this loosening of the fibres of national life was

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 35-36.

due to the conscious or unconscious adoption of the paralysing doctrine of self-negation. His object was to give a new orientation and a dynamic quality to their thought and conduct by preaching the fullest and freest affirmation of the Self in this *real* world of forces and phenomena with all its material, cultural and spiritual riches. These could, and should, be utilized to serve the increasing purposes of man as an individual and as a member of the human community. In the words of the Quran, man is the "trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril", and his unceasing reward consists in his "gradual growth in self-possession, in uniqueness and intensity of his activity as an ego".[1] This Self, which is always in the making, is a reservoir of many untapped, unsuspected powers and possibilities. Its development requires that the individual should throw himself open to all kinds of formative and challenging experiences. If he tries to withdraw from the world of strife, his individuality will shrink and wither and his talents will remain unrealized. Even for the poet—usually regarded as merely an emotionalist and an aesthete, living in a world of his own artistic moods and sensibilities—his message is one of strenuous striving and of protest against his normal attitude of impotent whimperings against Fate :

اے میانِ کیسہ ات نقدِ سخن   بر عیارِ زندگی اُو را بزن

مدّتے غلطیدۂ اندر حریر   خُو بہ کرپاسِ درشتے ہم بگیر

خویش را بر ریگِ سوزاں ہم بزن   غوطہ اندر چشمہ زمزم بزن

مثلِ بلبل ذوقِ شیون تا کجا   در چمن زاراں نشیمن تا کجا

1. *Lectures*, p. 111.

اے ہما از یُمنِ دامت ارجمند   آشیانے ساز بر کوہِ بلند

تاشوی در خوردِ پیکارِ حیات   جسم و جانت سوزد از نارِ حیات

Oh ! if thou hast the coin of poesy in the purse ;
Rub it on the touchstone of life !
For a long time thou hast turned about on a bed of silk,
Now accustom thyself to rough cotton !
Now throw thyself on the burning sand
And plunge into the fountain of Zamzam.
How long wilt thou fain lament like the nightingale ?
How long make thine abode in gardens ?
O thou, whose auspicious snare would do honour to Phoenix,
Build a nest on the high mountains,
That thou mayst be fit for life's battle
That thy body and soul may burn in life's fire ! [1]

Thus we see how this note of bold and fearless self-realization runs right through his poetry and his philosophy, and why the cultivation of Individuality becomes for him the highest goal of all social and educational effort. We shall discuss later the question of the relationship of this Individuality to the group or the community which forms the other side of the picture and without the proper appreciation of which the delicate balance of the educative process cannot be maintained. This discussion, however, underlines a truth of great significance what modern educational thought regards as the proper point of departure for the teacher in his work.

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 42-43.

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF INDIVIDUALITY

THE discussion in the preceding chapter brings us naturally to the question : How does individuality grow ? What are the conditions, external and internal, which favour its development ? Iqbal's answer to this problem, which arises directly from his view of the nature of Individuality should be examined in some detail because it is of vital importance for the educationist.

Iqbal starts with the assertion that this Self or Individuality is *not* a datum but an achievement, the fruit of a constant, strenuous effort in and against the forces of the external environment as well as the disruptive tendencies within man himself. "The life of the Ego," he explains, "is a kind of tension caused by the Ego invading the environment and the environment invading the Ego"[1] and it is essential that the living intimacy of this relationship between the two should be utilized in education. Through this give-and-take between the individual and his many-sided environment, through establishing as many intensive and fruitful contacts with the surrounding reality as possible, the individual evolves the inner richness of his being. A life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation, which cuts him off from the stimulus and energising currents of social life, is apt to make him egocentric and limited in his interests and sympathies. Iqbal takes a dynamic view of this continuous process of adjustment between the individual and the environment and points out that "it is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the Universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the Universe, now by adjusting himself to its

1. *Lectures*, p. 97.

forces, now by putting the whole of his energy to mould its forces to his own end and purpose. And in this process of progressive change, God becomes a co-worker with him, provided man takes the initiative :

'Verily, God will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves.' (Quran)

"If he does not take the initiative, if he does not evolve the inner richness of his being, if he ceases to feel the inward push of advancing life, then the spirit within him turns into stone and he is reduced to the level of dead matter." [1]

This quotation brings out clearly Iqbal's view of the relationship between the individual and the world and shows how it differs from the traditional view of man's adjustment to his environment. For him, the development of individuality is a *creative* process in which man must play an *active* role, always acting and reacting purposefully on the environment. It is *not* a matter of the individual passively adapting himself to a static environment. It also helps to define the nature of the environment which is likely to be favourable to the growth of the Self. True self-expression, whether of the individual or the community, can be secured only when the Self feeds on, and draws its inspiration from, one's own cultural heritage and achievements. Iqbal is fully alive to the value of a community's culture for the education and right development of the individual. The continuity of the cultural life of a community demands on the part of its members both a genuine appreciation and a critical appraisal of its cultural values and traditions. They must have the capacity for the active understanding, assimilation and reconstruction of the existing culture ; for, then alone can they forge for themselves an individuality which is both original and enduring. Any form of education which ignores this fundamental truth is foredoomed to superficiality because it cannot gain any foothold

1. *Lectures*, p. 12.

in the depths of the people's psychology. Iqbal has repeatedly stressed the point that "*sual*" (*i.e.*, asking, dependence on others, the slavish imitation of their ideas and culture) weakens the Self and that, unless individuals as well as the community develop self-reliance and evolve the inner richness of their own being, their potentialities will remain warped and repressed. Iqbal's poetry gives this message in a variety of beautiful forms. Thus, in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Message of the East):

دلا نارائیِ پروانہ تا کے   نگیری شیوۂ مردانہ تا کے
یکے خود را بسوزِ خویشتن سوز   طوافِ آتشِ بیگانہ تا کے

How long, O heart, this burning like the moth?
How long this aversion to the ways of true manhood?
Burn thyself in thy own flame,
How long this fluttering round the stranger's fire?[1]

What happens to the Self when it adopts the attitude of the mendicant?

از سوال آشفتہ اجزائے خودی   بے تجلی نخلِ سینائے خودی
از سوال افلاس گردد خوار تر   از گدائی گدیہ گر نادار تر

Asking disintegrates the self
And deprives of illumination the Sinai-bush of the self.
By asking poverty is made more abject,
By begging the beggar is made poorer.[2]

On the positive side, his exhoratation is:

سحر در شاخسارِ بوستانے   چہ خوش می گفت مرغ نغمہ خوانے
برآور ہر چہ اندر سینہ داری   سرودے، نالۂ، آہے، فغانے

1. P. 17.

2. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, p. 24.

Nestling in the tree, on an early morn,
How aptly remarked the singing fowl :
Bring forth whatever is hid in thy breast—
A wailing, a sigh, a lament, or a song ![1]

Again :

زخاکِ خویش طلب آتشے کہ پیدا نیست　　تجلّیٔ دگرے درخورِ تقاضا نیست

Look into thy own clay for the fire that is lacking
The light of another is not worth striving for.[2]

Speaking in the first person singular, he describes the self-sufficient individual thus :

نکردم از کسے دریوزۂ چشم　　جہاں را جز بچشمِ خود ندیدم

Never was I a mendicant for another's sight,
Nor looked at the world but with my own eyes.[3]

Applying this general principle to the conditions prevailing in the East, and in India in particular, he saw how the slavish imitation of the West by the East has warped the development of the Eastern peoples and repressed their creativity. In a poem addressed to his son Javid, as a representative of the rising generation, he says :

اٹھا نہ شیشہ گرانِ فرنگ کے احساں　　سفالِ ہند سے مینا و جام پیدا کر!

Be not indebted to the glass makers of the West.
Make thy flagon and cup with the clay of Ind.[4]

Reviewing in his *Javid-Nama*, through the mouth of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the present relationship of the East and the West, Iqbal laments that the East has been content with a cheap and indiscriminate imitation of Western culture and practices. Under the political circumstances of the time their relationship was corrupted by a sense of inferiority on one side and superiority on the other and imitation was mainly confined

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 23.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

to the superficial and non-significant aspects of Western culture and institutions. The East thus lost not only the jewel-core of its own individuality but also the advantages which should have accrued from its contact with the West. Thus Ahmad Shah Abdali:

شرق را از خود برد تقلیدِ غرب　　باید ایں اقوام را تنقیدِ غرب

قوّتِ مغرب نه از چنگ و رباب　　نے ز رقصِ دخترانِ بے حجاب!

محکمی اُو را نه از لادینی است　　نے فروغش از خطِ لاطینی است!

قوّتِ افرنگ از علم و فن است　　از همیں آتش چراغش روشن است

The East in imitating the West is deprived of its true self,
It should attempt, instead, a critical appraisal!
The power of the West springs not from her music
Nor from the dance of her unveiled daughters!
Her strength comes not from irreligion
Nor her progress from the adoption of the Latin srcipt
The power of the West lies in her Arts and Sciences
At their fire, has it kindled its lamps.[1]

He draws a vivid and hauntingly truthful picture of how our youth have become denationalized through an education which ignores their past history and culture and does nothing to strengthen their individuality or stimulate their originality:

علمِ غیر آموختی اندوختی　　روئے خویش از غازه اش افروختی

ارجمندی از شعارش مے بری　　من ندانم تو توئی یا دیگری

عقلِ تو زنجیریِ افکارِ غیر　　در گلوئے تو نفس از تارِ غیر

1. *Javid-Nama*, pp. 208-209.

برزبانت گفتگوہا مستعار در دلِ تو آرزوہا مستعار
تا کجا طوفِ چراغِ محفلے ز آتشِ خود سوز اگر داری دلے
فرد فرد آمد کہ خود را شناخت قوم قوم آمد کہ جز با خود نساخت

You have acquired and stored up knowledge from the strangers
And polished your face with its rouge ;
You borrow luck from their ways
And I know not whether you are yourself or some one else !

Your mind is chained to their ideas ;
The very breath in your throat plays on others' strings !
Borrowed converse pours from your lips,
Borrowed desires nestle in your hearts !
How long this circling round the assembly's fire ?
Have you a heart ? Then burn yourself in your own fire.

An individual becomes unique through self-realization.
A nation becomes truly itself when it is true to itself.[1]

Then follows a scathing criticism of those who, without appreciating the true values of Western culture, seek to approximate to it by copying its external trappings :

علم و فن را اے جوانِ شوخ و شنگ مغز می باید نہ ملبوسِ فرنگ!
اندریں رہ جز نگہ مطلوب نیست ایں کلہ یا آں کلہ مطلوب نیست
فکرِ چالاکے اگر داری بس است طبعِ درّاکے اگر داری بس است!

O lively and fashionable youth ! Arts and Sciences,
Need a keen intellect not Western clothes ;

1. *Ramuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 186-188.

What is needed in this quest is Vision,
Not this or that particular head-dress !
If you have a subtle intellect and an incisive mind,
They would suffice to guarantee success.

He reverts to the theme again in *Javid-Nama*.[1]

گر کسے شب ہا خورد دودِ چراغ　　گیرد از علم و فن و حکمت سراغ!

ملکِ معنی کس حدِ اُو را نہ بست　　بے جہادِ پیہمے ناید بدست!

بندۂ افرنگ از ذوقِ نمود　　-　می برد از غربیاں رقص و سرود!

نقدِ جانِ خویش در بازد بہ لہو　　علم دشوار است می سازد بہ لہو!

از تن آسانی بگیرد سہل را　　فطرتِ اُو در پذیرد سہل را!

سہل را جستن دریں دیرِ کہن　　ایں دلیل آنکہ جاں رفت از بدن

When one steadily burns the midnight oil,
One is admitted to the domain of knowledge and wisdom !
The world of meaning which has no frontiers
Cannot be conquered without a persistent crusade !
Anxious to make a showing, the slave of the West,
Borrows from her only dance and music !
He barters his precious soul for frivolous sport ;
Knowledge is hard to acquire, he makes so with sport !
Self-indulgently he grasps what is easy,
And his weak nature accepts it with readiness !
But the quest of what is easy in life
Proves that the spirit has fled from the body ![2]

We thus see that he does *not* narrow-mindedly reject the valuable contributions of the West. He readily welcomes

1. P. 209.

2. *Javid Nama*, pp. 209-10.

their spirit of research, their sciences, their strenuous striving to gain control of their environment. But he would certainly repudiate the merely superficial and sensational aspects of their civilization because they tend to weaken our self-respect, run contrary to some of our basic cultural values and give us an entirely false sense of being modern and progressive. He desires to inculcate courage and self-reliance in the educated youth and condemns, in no uncertain terms, those who adopt the shameful attitude of mendicancy which is an insult to human dignity and irreparably weakens individuality :

تا بکے دریوزهٔ منصب کنی — صورتِ طفلاں زنے مرکب کنی

فطرتے کو بر فلک بندد نظر — پست می گردد ز احسانِ دگر

گرچه باشی تنگ روز و تنگ بخت — در رہِ سیلِ بلا افگنده رخت

رزقِ خویش از نعمتِ دیگر مجو — موجِ آب از چشمِ خاور مجو

How long will thou sue for office
And ride, like children, on reeds ?
A nature that fixes its gaze on the sky
Becomes debased by receiving benefits.
Albeit thou art poor and wretched
And overwhelmed by affliction,
Seek not thy daily bread from the bounty of another
Seek not waves of water from the fountain of the Sun.[1]

The educational and political implications of this situation, which Iqbal criticised and condemned, have been obvious to all those who have laboured for the cultural and political emancipation of the East. Our educational system, on the whole, is still mainly based on borrowed ideas, on the intellectual resources of a foreign culture, on the slavish and cramping use of a foreign language—in a word, on "asking". We

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 24-25.

were content, for generations to look upon the world, as it were, not only through borrowed glasses but through the eyes of others. Education not only failed to do anything to check this tendency but was so oriented—in its ideology, its methods, its curricula—as to undermine national self-respect and block up the release of the people's creative impulses. If education is to be organized under the inspiration of a new and healthy ideology, it must aim at the strengthening of the people's individuality, the revitalizing of the inner sources of national culture and using its riches to quicken creativity.

The third condition which Iqbal regards as essential for the education of true individuality is Freedom. He believes that life cannot unfold all its possibilities, nor can the individual develop his latent powers, except in an atmosphere of freedom which would allow for experimentation with the environment, for the exercise of choice and discrimination in the use of methods and materials and for learning by direct, personal, first-hand experience. He would have the schools bring up free, daring and creative individuals, not emaciated hot-house plants—youths who have been kept in leading strings. Freedom is the very breath of vital living :

بندگی میں گھٹ کے رہ جاتی ہے اک جوئے کم آب

اور آزادی میں بحرِ بیکراں ہے زندگی

Enslaved, life is reduced to a small rivulet,
Free, it is like the boundless ocean !

He exhorts us to cast off the many man-made chains which imprison us and to gain freedom both from internal and external fetters :

تا کجا در تہ بال دگراں می باشی . در ہوائے چمن آزادہ پریدن آموز

How long wilt thou live under the wings of others?
Learn to wing thy flight freely in the garden breeze.[1]

In the tremendous drama of human evolution he sees, like Bergson, a clear trend towards the securing of an ever-increasing freedom for man—freedom with all its attendant advantages and perils. In discussing this point he gives an original and interesting interpretation of the legend of the Fall of Man. "Its purpose," he points out, "is to indicate man's rise from a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience."[2] Adam's "*Jannat*" or Paradise—in the Quranic sense of the word and in the context of the legend of the Fall—is, according to him, "the conception of a primitive state in which man is practically unrelated to his environment and consequently does not feel the sting of human wants, the birth of which alone marks the beginning of human culture".[3] Driven from this *Jannat*, man takes his abode on Earth. It is, therefore, a matter of profound significance, both for the educationist and the philosopher, what view is taken of the purpose of his life on earth. Christianity, like certain other schools of religious and philosophical thought, has been traditionally inclined to look upon the Earth, where man is to work out his chequered destiny, as "a torture hall where an elementally wicked humanity is imprisoned for an original act of sin".[4] Iqbal's view, based on Islamic teaching, is that the Earth is a stage where man, equipped with the power of intelligent thought and choice, carries on a *continuous experiment in living*. This freedom of choice is a unique gift vouchsafed to man; it is because of this freedom that, in him *Individuality*—which, in a more or less rudimentary form, is common to all living organisms—has deepened into *Personality*. While, on the one hand, it opens up the possibility of wrong doing to man, it also enables him to "participate in the creative life of his maker".

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 188.
2. *Lectures*, p. 80.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

This freedom, however, is no easy matter, because it also involves a great risk. "Freedom to choose good involves also the freedom to choose what is the opposite of good. That God has taken this risk shows his immense faith in man ; it is for man now to justify this faith"[1] by a wise and constructive use of the gift of freedom. This free Personality is described in the Quran as a "trust" which was offered to the Heavens and the Earth who refused the great burden ; man alone was daring enough to undertake the stupendous responsibility. In doing so he also accepted inevitably all the grave and challenging risks and misadventures which are associated with it and which deepen the sense of the tragedy of life. "Perhaps," adds Iqbal, "such a risk alone makes it possible to test and develop the potentialities of a being who was 'created of the goodliest fabric' and then brought down to be the 'lowest of the low'."[2] It confers on him the highest status amongst all created beings and makes him the vicegerent of God on Earth. "Endowed with the power to imagine a better world and to mould what *is* into what *might be*, the ego in him aspires, in the interest of an increasingly unique and comprehensive individuality, to exploit all the various environments on which he may be called upon to operate."[3]

Thus, Iqbal's contention is that the unfolding of an individual's latent possibilities can best take place in an atmosphere of freedom. He further makes the significant point that the development of *creativity*, which is the highest attribute of man and links him with God, and *originality*, which is a condition precedent for all progressive change, also postulate freedom. Deprived of such freedom, man becomes a slave whom Iqbal characterizes, in a happy inspiration, as 'one incapable of original, creative activity' :

نکتۂ می گویمت روشن چو دُر   تا شناسی امتیازِ عبد و حُر

1. *Lectures*, p. 81. 2. *Ibid.* 3. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

عبد را تحصیلِ حاصل فطرت است　　　وارداتِ جانِ اُو بے ندرت است

دم بدم نو آفرینی کارِ حُر　　　نغمۂ پیہم تازہ ریزد تارِ حُر

فطرتش زحمت کشِ تکرار نیست　　　جادۂ اُو حلقۂ پرکار نیست

عبد را ایّام زنجیر است و بس　　　بر لبِ اُو حرفِ تقدیر است و بس

ہمّتِ حُر با قضا گردد مشیر　　　حادثات از دستِ اُو صورت پذیر

I will reveal to you a point, bright as a pearl
That you may distinguish between the slave and the free!
The slave is by nature repetitive,
His experiences are bereft of originality!
The free man is always busily creative,
His bow-string is vibrant with new melodies!
His nature abhors repetition;
His path is not like the circle traced by a compass!
To the slave, Time is a chain,
His lips speak only of Fate!
The courage of the free becomes a counsellor of Fate.
His is the hand that shapes the events![1]

Let us examine some of the implications of Iqbal's view of freedom and creativity for problems of intellectual and moral education. The first point that emerges is that, because the environment of man is growing and changing as a result of his own creative activity, it is imperative, in the modern age, to lay special stress on the awakening and cultivation of intelligence. Without it, it would be impossible for him to live a full and adequate life in this complex and challenging environment. Iqbal shows a keen awareness of the role of experimentally acquired knowledge in modern

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 82-83.

life, both in his poetry and his *Lectures* :

"The life of a finite ego in an obstructing environment depends on the perpetual expansion of knowledge based on actual experience. And the experience of a finite ego, to whom several possibilities are open, expands only by the method of trial and error. Therefore, error, which may be described as a kind of intellectual evil, is an indispensable factor in the building up of experience."

It follows, therefore, that only through a spirit of intellectual adventure, through trial and error, through fearless exploration into new realms of thought, can we make our original and valuable contribution to the enrichment of knowledge and, consequently, of life. Iqbal is constantly exhorting his readers not to be intellectually timid but to go out boldly to conquer new domains of knowledge, unafraid of the pitfalls and dangers that beset the way and of the threat to established institutions and practices which freedom of thought may hold out :

تراش از تیشۂ خود جادۂ خویش   براہِ دیگراں رفتن عذاب است
گر از دستِ تو کارِ نادر آید   گناہے ہم اگر باشد ثواب است

Cut your path with an axe of your own,
It is a sin to tread the beaten paths of others !
If you achieve something unique and original,
Even a sin becomes a virtue ![1]

When this freedom of thought and originality of action is quickened in individuals and groups, it brings great triumphs in its wake :

ندرتِ فکر و عمل کیا شے ہے؟ ذوقِ انقلاب
ندرتِ فکر و عمل کیا شے ہے؟ ملت کا شباب!

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p 62.

ندرتِ فکر و عمل سے معجزاتِ زندگی
ندرتِ فکر و عمل سے سنگِ خارہ لعلِ ناب!

What is originality of thought and action ?
An urge to revolution !
What is originality of thought and action ?
A renaissance of national life !
It is the source of life's miracles,
Transforming granite into the purest of pearls ![1]

Such a view of intellectual education calls for the rejection of those elaborate, foolproof, stereotyped methods of teaching which seek to eliminate, from the process of a learning, the possibility of exercising intellectual initiative and ingenuity or of making mistakes and learning from them. It favours methods of self-activity and learning by doing: methods which confront the students with new situations and problems, compelling them to work purposefully with the resources of their environment, to fit means to ends, to rely on their own groping but intelligent efforts, to learn to overcome their difficulties in their own. It would be a far cry indeed from Iqbal's philosophy to, say, the Project Method—each presumably unaware of the other—but it is no undue stretching of the point to say that they imply a somewhat similar interpretation of the psychology of learning and experience. The movement of life, according to Iqbal, "is determined by ends, and the presence of ends means that it is permeated by intelligence. Thus ends and purposes, whether they exist as conscious or unconscious tendencies, form the warp and woof of our conscious existence".[2] Compare this statement with the view of education as envisaged by a well-known American advocate of experimentalism:

"The experimentalist sees man living in a world that

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 202.

2. *Lectures*, p. 50.

is a mixture of the regular and the changing, of the fixed and the uncertain, of the stable and the precarious. In short, man lives in a world in which the character of experience is such that *intelligent, purposeful activity is demanded if he is to achieve a satisfying experience* . . . [and] the necessary condition for learning to behave intelligently is the freedom to engage in purposeful activity."[1]

Thus intellectual education can become an effective influence in our life only when it takes into account the intelligent and purposeful character of life and experience. An educational technique like the Project Method, in so far as it is based on purposeful activity, is more likely to develop the right kind of intellectual attitudes than traditional methods that rely on memory and passive learning. The object of intellectual education, therefore, should be the awakening of the critical and questioning attitude which would refuse to take everything on trust. That is why intellectual curiosity and search for truth are more important, from this point of view, than truth itself :

ہماے علم تا افتد بدامت   یقیں کم کن، گرفتارِ شکے باش

Would you ensnare the phoenix of knowledge ?
Rely less on belief and learn to doubt.[2]

And he quotes the Persian poet Rumi with approval :

زیرکی بفروش و حیرانی بخر   زیرکی ظن است و حیرانی نظر

Give away knowledge and purchase wonder,
Knowledge is often presumption, wonder gives insight.[3]

But, while keenly conscious of the significance of intelligence and knowledge, Iqbal is not betrayed into that

1. Childs, *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*, p. 81.
2. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 86.
3. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 186.

blind worship of the intellect which has tended to give a one-sided view of Reality to many Western thinkers and minimised the value and importance of Action in the eyes of many of the thinkers of the East. Like Bergson, he believes that the Intellect has been evolved in, and for the service of, Action and its essential role is that of a hand-maiden in the achievement of Life's purposes. "We do not live in order to think; we think in order to live." Iqbal explains the point in his "Secrets of the Self":

علم از سامانِ حفظِ زندگی است علم از اسبابِ تقویمِ خودی است
علم و فن از پیش خیزانِ حیات علم و فن از خانہ زادانِ حیات

Science is an instrument for the preservation of life,
Science is a means of establishing the Self.
Science and Art are servants of life—
Slaves born and bred in its house.[1]

If knowledge is not related to and acquired through Action, it cannot be transformed into power, and man cannot use it for the reconstruction of his environment. Iqbal is, therefore, sceptical of the value of mere bookish, academic knowledge which often saps the student's vitality and fails to equip him properly for a life of *active* striving in the service of worthy causes. He is not, therefore, prepared to regard it as the *end* of the educative process:

من آں علم و فراست با پرِ کاہے نمی گیرم
کہ از تیغ و سپر بیگانہ سازد مردِ غازی را

I hold that knowledge and intelligence valueless
Which takes away the crusader's sword and shield.[2]

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 17-18. 2 *Zabur-i-Ajam*, p. 148.

It is the active quest, the yearning for achievement which give vitality to knowledge and wings to life. Listen to the instructive conversation between the moth and the book-worm—the one burning for action the other buried in the study of books:

شنیدم شبے در کتب خانۂ من   بہ پروانہ می گفت کرمِ کتابی

باوراقِ سینا نشیمن گرفتم   بسے دیدم از نسخۂ فاریابی

نفہمیدہ ام حکمتِ زندگی را   ہماں تیرہ روزم ز بے آفتابی

نکو گفت پروانۂ نیم سوزے   کہ این نکتہ را در کتابے نیابی

تپش می کند زندہ تر زندگی را   تپش می دہد بال و پر زندگی را

Last night I heard the book-worm lament
To the moth in my library:
I have lived inside the pages of Sina's works,
And seen many volumes of Farabi's writing;
But the secret of life I have failed to grasp,
And my days are still dark and sunless!
Aptly did the half-burnt moth rejoin:
You cannot find this secret in a book.
It is yearning that quickens the tempo of life
And endows it with wings to soar.[1]

His direct exhortation to the students is summed up in these thoughtful and thought-compelling lines:

خدا تجھے کسی طوفاں سے آشنا کر دے   کہ تیرے بحر کی موجوں میں اضطراب نہیں

تجھے کتاب سے ممکن نہیں فراغ کہ تو   کتاب خواں ہے مگر صاحبِ کتاب نہیں

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 119.

May God fire you with the force of a tempest,
For the waters of your sea are calm and still;
The book cannot be your salvation,
For, you are only its reader; it has not been revealed to you![1]

That is why, like some other discerning modern thinkers he sounds a note of warning against an "over intellectualistic" concept of education and advocates a balanced view which would give due weight to all the elements of experience —cognitive, contative and affective—which make up the variegated texture of man's personality.

The implications of the doctrine of freedom are equally important for *moral* education. The traditional concept and methods of moral training have demanded a passive conformity, on the part of the individual, to a rigid superimposed moral code and they have tended to belittle the role of personal thought and active intellect in the process of achieving a moral personality. A good deal of the discussion that has been going on regarding the place and importance of moral (and religious) education in schools is merely concerned with the teaching of dogma and ritual and a large majority of the text-books used only attempt to do that and no more. Now, there is some place for their teaching in a comprehensive scheme of moral and religious education but the problem is really much bigger and deeper, and Iqbal takes the correct view when he says:

"Goodness is not a matter of compulsion; it is the Self's free surrender to the moral ideal and arises out of a willing co-operation of free egos. A being whose movements are wholly determined cannot produce goodness. Freedom is thus seen to be a condition of goodness."

The quotation brings out two very important principles underlying moral education. Firstly, education cannot produce or stimulate genuine moral behaviour by teaching a set

1. *Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 81.

of ready-made moral maxims which the students are expected to act upon mechanically and without question. Morality involves choice and free-will. It is only through personal experience, which is guaranteed a reasonable degree of freedom, that one can work out, thoughtfully and often with travail, a code of effective personal morality. Without such a background of experience, gained in the give-and-take of every-day social intercourse, theoretical moral maxims cannot be transformed into persistent motive forces of conduct. Secondly, the quotation underlines the significant relationship of *moral to social* behaviour. Morality cannot be taught or learnt in isolation; it arises out of the "willing *co-operation* of free egos" which implies that the schools must provide full opportunities of social life and social experience and must utilize in their day-to-day work the healthy motives which operate in community life. All the educational movements which introduce social motives and methods in schools and offer scope for co-operative work done tend to 'moralize' the process of education and should, therefore, be welcomed.

Another factor which Iqbal considers important in the development of individuality is *the formation of new purposes and objectives* which always determine the direction of man's activity and evolution. It is the ceaseless quest for newer and greater creative purposes which adds zest and meaning to life and disciplines the growing powers and activities of the individuals into healthy channels :

زندگانی را بقا از مدعاست کاروانش را درا از مدعاست
زندگی در جستجو پوشیده است اصل او در آرزو پوشیده است
آرزو را در دلِ خود زنده دار تا نگردد مشتِ خاکِ تو مزار

آرزو صید مقاصد را کمند   دفتر افعال را شیرازه بند
طاقتِ پرواز بخشد خاک را   خضر باشد موسیٰ ادراک را

زندگی سرمایه دار از آرزوست   عقل از زائیدگانِ بطنِ اوست

Life is preserved by purpose ;
Because of the goal its caravan tinkles !
Life is latent in seeking :
Its origin is hidden in Desire !
Keep Desire alive in thy heart,
Lest thy handful of dust become a tomb.
Desire is a noose for hunting ideals,
A binder for the book of deeds !
It gives to earth the power of soaring,
It is a *Khizr* to the Moses of perception !
'Tis Desire that enriches life,
And the intellect is a child of its womb.[1]

The theme recurs repeatedly in his poetry :

گرم خونِ انسان ز داغِ آرزو   آتشِ این خاک از چراغِ آرزو
زندگی مضمونِ تسخیر است و بس   آرزو افسونِ تسخیر است و بس

'Its Desire makes the blood of man run warm,
By the lamp of Desire this dust is enkindled.
Life is occupied with the theme of conquest,
And Desire is the charm that makes it possible.[2]

اگر ز رمزِ حیات آگهی مجوی و مگیر   دلی که از خلشِ خارِ آرزو پاک است

Dost thou know the secret of life ?
Do not, then, seek or accept a heart
Unpricked by the thorn of Desire.[3]

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 16-17.   2. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
3. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 108.

In the poet's art, too, he sees clearly a manifestation of this ceaseless quest for beauty and self-realization, this ceaseless creativity inspired by new visions and purposes. This yearning for the unattainable and *striving for it* is the mark of the true artist. Listen to Iqbal's moving confession as a poet :

چہ کنم کہ فطرتِ من بہ مقام در نسازد   دلِ ناصبور دارم چو صبا بہ لالہ زارے
چو نظر قرار گیرد بہ نگارِ خوبروئے   تپد آں زماں دلِ من پئے خوبتر نگارے
ز شرر ستارہ جویم ز ستارہ آفتابے   سرِ منزلے ندارم کہ بمیرم از قرارے
طلبم نہایتِ آں کہ نہایتے ندارد   بہ نگاہِ ناشکیبے بہ دلِ امیدوارے

What can I do ? My nature is averse to rest ;
My heart is impatient like the breeze in the poppy field ;
When the eye beholds an object of beauty
The heart yearns for something more beautiful still ;
From the spark to the star, from the star to the sun
Is my quest ;
I have no desire for a goal,
For me, rest spells death !
With an impatient eye and a hopeful heart
I seek for the end of that which is endless ![1]

He epitomizes Bergson's faith in the creative role of desire in these lines :

نہ مئے از ازل آورد نہ جامے آورد   لالہ از داغِ جگر سوزِ دوامے آورد

What does the poppy bring ?
Neither the wine nor the flagon !
Its endowment is but the infinite yearning of its heart.[2]

In other words unceasing, creative Desire is the motive force

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, pp. 148-149.   2. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

under whose inspiration the individual builds up his self, his culture and his institutions.

It is obvious, therefore, that when the repressive forces of the environment or a blind educational system discourage the formation of new desires, ideals and purposes or when the repressive discipline of an absolute, all-powerful State imposes its own ready-made purposes on every citizen, the development of a free, creative and unique individuality becomes impossible and one of the most important objectives of education is defeated. It is essential, in the interest of true education, that the teacher should awaken in his students a keen consciousness of their manifold relations with the environment and thus stimulate the formation of new and creative purposes.

Purposes, however, are not formed in a vacuum; they grow out of dynamic, forward-moving activity which brings the individual into fruitful, manipulative relations with the environment. Mere physical contiguity does not constitute any *educative* contact with the environment, which involves action and re-action between them from which all genuine experience arises. "Experience," as the experimentalists define it, is "primarily an active affair. It is a process of undergoing: a process of standing something, of suffering and passion, of affection in the literal sense of these words. The organism has to endure, to undergo, the consequences of its own actions."[1] Iqbal would, on the whole, agree with such a conception of experience; it is in conformity with his own view of Action as the basis of all development. His whole philosophical thought is an eloquent plea for a life of strenuous activity and endeavour in which the Self interacts with its material and cultural environment and utilizes it, at first to achieve its rudimentary, groping purposes and later, through the process of creative self-expression, to form other clearer purposes and attain to greater reaches of power. He regards a life of seclusion, withdrawal and passivity as unsatisfactory:

1. Dewey, *Creative Intelligence*, p. 10.

تا بر تو آشکار شود رازِ زندگی خود را جدا ز شعله مثالِ شرر مکن

بہر نظارہ جز نگہِ آشنا میار در مرز و بوم خود چو غریبان گذر مکن

If thou wouldst read life as an open book,
Be not a spark divided from the brand !
Bring the familiar eye, the friendly look,
Nor visit stranger-like thy native land.[1]

"Action" is, indeed, in his philosophy the pivot of life. Man grows to his full stature and realizes his great destiny through a life of strenuous activity, not one of renunciation and 'soft', self-centred contemplation :

میارا بزم بر ساحل که آن جا نوائے زندگانی نرم خیز است

بدریا غلط و با موجش در آویز حیاتِ جاوداں اندر ستیز است

Feast not on the shore, for there
Softly breathes the tune of life.
Grapple with the waves and dare !
Immortality is strife.[2]

His poetry is rich with this message, expressed in a hundred different ways, each with a beauty and aptness of its own :

سکندر با خضر خوش نکتهٔ گفت شریکِ سوز و سازِ بحر و بر شو

تو این جنگ از کنارِ عرصه بینی بمیر اندر نبرد و زنده تر شو

How aptly did Sikandar remark to Khizr :
Participate actively in the struggle of life !
You watch the battle from the edge of the battle-field :
Die in the thick of the fight and gain everlasting life.[3]

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 247. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 41. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Again :

بہل افسانۂ آں پاچراغے — حدیثِ سوزِ اُو آزارِ گوش است
من آں پروانہ را پروانہ دانم — کہ جانش سخت کوش و شعلہ نوش است

Leave out the story of the restless moth,
Whose tale of burning repels my ears :
That moth alone is a true moth
Who is active in striving and can swallow the flame ![1]

He asks man to welcome all experience not to shut himself in isolation, and condemns the school-master who wants to bring up children like hot-house plants, deprived of educative and stimulating contact with Nature.

شیخِ مکتب ہے اک عمارت گر — جس کی صنعت ہے روحِ انسانی
نکتۂ دلپذیر تیرے لئے — کہہ گیا ہے حکیمِ قاآنی
"پیشِ خورشید بر مکش دیوار — خواہی ار صحنِ خانہ نورانی"

What is the school-master ?
An architect of the souls of men !
How attractively has the philosopher, Qaani,
Remarked for his guidance :
"If you will have your courtyard flooded with light,
Do not interpose a wall in the path of the Sun."[2]

The true joy of life is to be found, not in watching the performance from the spectators' gallery, as it were—as some artists and philosophers would have it—but in throwing oneself whole-heartedly into the affray and making every experience—painful or pleasant—contribute to the strength and enrichment

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 24.
2. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 217.

of the Self. Listen to the advice of the courageous woodpecker to the timid and tearful nightingale :

گفتش که سود خویش ز جیب زیان برآر　　گل از شگاف سینه زر ناب آفرید

درمان ز درد ساز اگر خسته تن شوی　　خوگر به خار شو که سراپا چمن شوی

> Get thy profit out of loss :
> The rose has created pure gold by rending her breast !
> If thou art wounded, make the pain thy remedy !
> Accustom thyself to thorns, that thou mayst become
> Entirely one with the garden.[1]

In Iqbal's world they do not serve who merely stand and wait. Life demands strenuous and constant effort on every one's part. In this connection it may be relevant to recall that his emphasis on action has sometimes led him to express admiration for certain 'strong men of action,' including great conquerors and rulers—even men like Mussolini in the early phases of their stormy, ill-fated careers—with the result that his real attitude to them has been often misunderstood. He has in fact been even accused by some critics of having 'fascist' tendencies. But, if such expressions of views are studied in the total content of his thought, the criticism is seen to be quite unfair. It may show that his *political* appraisal of such persons was not correct though it must be realized that, unlike the historian or the political writer, a poet often gives his impressions of certain facts to highlight particular features of a situation which strike him as noteworthy and does *not* make a comprehensive appraisal. He does *not* really admire the *objectives* or the ethical *standards* of such persons but only that dynamic quality which enabled them to overcome great obstacles by their power of will and capacity for action. I say so not as an *apologist* for Iqbal but because that is the only interpretation consistent with his

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 225.

whole tenor of thinking. This is also the reason why his favourite birds—employed as poetical symbols—are the eagle and the hawk which represent a life of ambition, of high endeavour, of perpetual struggle, leading to the development of a strong individuality. Thus the eagle advises the eaglet to lead a courageous and self-assertive life and not cultivate the soft and effeminate personality of the partridge :

ز روئے زمیں دانہ چیدن خطاست
کہ پہنائے گردوں خداداد ماست

'Tis a sin to pick our food from the ground ;
For heaven's wide expanse is God's gift to our kind.[1]

And this is how the deer, wise about the secret of a joyous life, counsels his friend who wanted to seek refuge from the trials of life in seclusion :

رفیقش گفت اے یارِ خردمند
اگر خواہی حیات اندر خطر زی
دمادم خویشتن را بر فساں زن
ز تیغِ پاک گوہر تیز تر زی
خطر تاب و تواں را امتحان است
عیارِ ممکناتِ جسم و جان است

His companion remarked, "O wise friend,
The secret of a joyous life is to live dangerously !
Strike thyself again and again on the whetstone,
So as to become sharper than the well-tempered sword.
Danger tests one's strength and capacity
And is the touchstone of the powers of the mind and the body.[2]

Using yet another simile—that of the coal and the diamond —he brings out clearly the difference between a raw and mature individuality. The diamond, which is envisaged as a self-contained and concentrated entity with a fully perfected

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 117.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

individuality, points out to the piece of charcoal, from which it has emerged and which is still raw and soft and hence of little value, how individuality can be strengthened :

خوار گشتی از وجودِ خامِ خویش — سوختی از نرمیٔ اندامِ خویش
فارغ از خوف و غم و وسواس باش — پخته مثلِ سنگ شو الماس باش
می‌شود از وے دو عالم مستنیر — ہر کہ باشد سخت کوش و سخت گیر
در صلابت آبروئے زندگی است — ناتوانی ناکسی ناپختگی است

Because thy being is immature,
Thou hast become abased !
Because thy body is soft,
Thou art burnt !
Be void of fear, grief and anxiety ;
Be hard as a stone, be a diamond !
Whoever strives hard and holds tight,
The two worlds are illumined by him !
In firmness consists the glory of Life !
Weakness is worthlessness and immaturity.[1]

To individuals as well as groups, striving to realize their true destiny, his advice is :

شریکِ حلقۂ رندانِ بادہ پیما باش — حذر ز بیعتِ پیرے کہ مردِ غوغا نیست

Join the circle of the carefree wine drinkers ;
Follow not the Pir who is afraid of turmoil.[2]

He would scorn to follow any leader who shuns the adventurous path and gives his allegiance only to him who is prepared to 'do and dare'.

مریدِ ہمت آں رہروم کہ پا نگذاشت — بہ جادۂ کہ درو کوہ و دشت و دریا نیست

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, p. 64.
2. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 189.

I admire the courage of the wayfarer,
Who disdains to set his feet
On the path that is not beset
With deserts and mountains and streams.

From these various quotations one can piece together and see emerging a certain definite approach to what Iqbal would consider the right type of education for the development of individuality. To put it in words commonly understood in educational circles, if education is to be a *preparation* for life, it must be achieved through active *participation* in life—a principle which, as we shall see later, has brought about far-reaching changes not only in the theory but also in the practice and technique of education. The philosophy of 'experimentalism' is largely inspired by this idea. The experimentalist considers the individual to be "a product of his own activity just as truly as he is a product of the social influences which nurture his mind",[1] and not "a passive agent who merely absorbs sensations and ideas from his environment." We would, therefore, be justified in concluding that the growth of individuality, according to Iqbal as well as modern educational thought, demands intense and manifold *activity* on the part of the growing individual, carried on in vital contact with the totality of his material and cultural environment. It should, however, be borne in mind that, for Iqbal, this is *not* the whole of the picture but only one facet of it. There are other equally important factors which enter into it to which we will have to turn our attention.

1. Child's *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism.*

CHAPTER III

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MATERIAL AND THE SPIRITUAL

IT has always been a very important issue in philosophy and ethics whether the Ideal and the Real, the Material and the Spiritual, the Physical and the Mental are to be regarded as mutually interdependent or as disparate terms which stand out in sharp contrast with each other. Educationally, too, it is necessary to take a stand about mutual relationship, in order to define the objectives and the correct techniques of education. If we regard the actual world of physical realities either as a mere illusion or as unimportant or as a hindrance to the development of the spirit, we have to work out a theory of education which harmonizes with that assumption. If, on the other hand, like some of the 'materialists' we interpret the entire life and the creative activity of man in terms of chemistry and physics, etc., and deny the human spirit a distinctive role of its own then education will have to be shaped accordingly. Against these two alternatives, there is a third view which does not regard the Real and the Ideal as mutually exclusive or consider either of them to be unimportant, but takes the Real to be the starting point for the realization of the Ideal. It will be obvious, from Iqbal's philosophic position that he subscribes to the last of these views. In analysing the process of the development of individuality, he has given considerable thought and attention to this traditional dualism between the Real and the Ideal which has often coloured philosophic speculation. In view of the intrinsic importance of the issue, it is necessary to examine his position in some detail.

We have seen that the growth of the Self implies that the

individual should evolve the inner richness of his being. This cannot, however, be brought about by withdrawing from the world of matter into the seclusion of one's own contemplative activity but by establishing fruitful contacts, at as many points as possible, with one's environment. It is as a result of such contacts that man has gradually won his ascendency over the world of Nature which in itself is a great creative achievement. Through this stimulating contact, he has sharpened his intellect, built up a great civilisation and opened up the possibilities of still greater triumphs. To this indomitable spirit of conquest and adventure in man, he pays a stirring tribute in a poem entitled "The spirit of Earth welcomes the advent of Adam", which is worth quoting in full :

کھول آنکھ زمیں دیکھ فلک دیکھ فضا دیکھ! مشرق سے ابھرتے ہوئے سورج کو ذرا دیکھ!
اس جلوۂ بے پردہ کو پردوں میں چھپا دیکھ! ایّامِ جدائی کے ستم دیکھ جفا دیکھ!
بے تاب نہ ہو معرکۂ بیم و رجا دیکھ!

ہیں تیرے تصرّف میں یہ بادل یہ گھٹائیں یہ گنبدِ افلاک یہ خاموش فضائیں
یہ کوہ یہ صحرا یہ سمندر یہ ہوائیں تھیں پیشِ نظر کل تو فرشتوں کی ادائیں
آئینۂ ایّام میں آج اپنی ادا دیکھ!

سمجھے گا زمانہ تری آنکھوں کے اشارے! دیکھیں گے تجھے دور سے گردوں کے ستارے!

ناپید ترے بحرِ تخیّل کے کنارے! پہنچیں گے فلک تک تری آہوں کے شرارے!
تعمیرِ خودی کر اثرِ آہِ رسا دیکھ!

خورشیدِ جہاں تاب کی ضو تیرے شرر میں! آباد ہے اک تازہ جہاں تیرے ہنر میں!
جچتے نہیں بخشے ہوئے فردوس نظر میں! جنّت تری پنہاں ہے ترے خونِ جگر میں!
اے پیکرِ گل کوششِ پیہم کی جزا دیکھ!

نالندہ ترے عود کا ہر تار ازل سے! تو جنسِ محبّت کا خریدار ازل سے!
تو پیرِ صنم خانۂ اسرار ازل سے! محنت کش و خونریز و کم آزار ازل سے!
ہے راکبِ تقدیرِ جہاں تیری رضا دیکھ!

Open the eyes, look at the earth and the sky,
Look at the sun rising gloriously in the East !
Look at this unveiled glory hidden behind veils ;
Suffer the pain and torture of days of separation !
Be not impatient ; watch the struggle of hope and fear !
These hills and deserts, these winds and clouds,
These silent spheres, these domes of the skies—
All are under the sway ;
Till yesterday thou watched the angels' ways in silence
Today, watch thy own ways mirrored in the glass of Time !
Time will obey the message of thy eyes,
And the stars in the skies will watch thee from afar !
Boundless is the sweep of thy imagination
And heaven itself is within reach of thy sighs !
Build thy Ego ; behold the power of thy sighs !

Thy spark has the lustre of the blazing Sun ;
A new world is latent in thy creative skill !
A gifted Paradise is a poor thing in thy eyes ;
The Paradise is a fruit of thy own labours !
Man, made of clay, behold the fruits of thy ceaseless quest !
Every string of thy lute is vibrant with music ;
Thou hast ever been a votary at the shrine of Love !
Thou hast ever been the Pir of the idol-house of mysteries ;
Thou hast ever toiled hard and eschewed violence !
Behold, thy will presides over the destiny of the universe ![1]

In conformity with the general trend of Islamic thought in this behalf, Iqbal is emphatic that, in his development, man must take account of the material conditions which set the stage for his conscious activity. Islam, as he puts it, "is not afraid of its contact with matter" but, recognising clearly the intimate and fruitful relation of the Ideal with the Real, says "yes" to the world of matter and exhorts us to use its great resources for the service of the highest spiritual ends ! He makes this clear in the language of poetic symbolism :

دلا رمزِ حیات از غنچہ دریاب — حقیقت در مجازش بے حجاب است
زخاکِ تیرہ می روید ولیکن — نگاہش بر شعاعِ آفتاب است

O heart ! look for the secret of life in the bud ;
Reality is revealed in its appearance !
It grows out of the dark earth
But keeps its gaze toward the rays of the sun ![2]

Thus the Ideal and the Real are not two opposing forces. The affirmation of the spiritual self demands a willing acceptance of the world of matter with a view to making it an ally in the process of our development. The rank materialist and the narrow-minded biologist may deny all reality to what the Quran calls *Alam-i-Anfus* (The World of the Mind) but they will not find any support for this position even amongst the more advanced thinkers in the sciences which have discovered,

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, pp. 178-179. 2. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 65.

with amazement, the old respectable and solid matter turning, in their hands, into energy or electrons or a "mere projection of the consciousness of the perceiver". There is a growing tendency to explain material things in terms which cannot be described as material. The extreme idealist may similarly refuse to admit the reality of the *Alam-i-Afaq* (World of Matter). But it is difficult to deny the obstinate fact that, for practical purposes, it does exist and has to be taken into account in any balanced scheme of education.

The practical question which confronts the thoughtful educator in this connection is : What is the respective value and significance of the Ideal and the Real in the life of man ? Granted that they have both to be taken into account, should we assign supremacy to the values of the spirit or to the needs and demands of material life ? Here Iqbal parts company with those who deny the primacy of the spirit. "The evolution of life shows," he remarks, "that though, in the beginning, the mental is dominated by the physical, the mental—as it grows in power—tends to dominate the physical and may eventually rise to a position of complete independence." He elucidates this position further : "The Ultimate Reality, according to the Quran, is spiritual and its life consists in its temporal activity. The spirit finds its opportunity in the natural, the material and the secular. All that is secular is, therefore, sacred in the roots of its being. The greatest service that modern thought has rendered to Islam and, as a matter of fact, to all religions, consists in its criticism of what we call material or natural—a criticism which discloses that the merely material has no substance unless we discover it rooted in the spiritual. There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realization of the spirit. As the Prophet so beautifully puts it : 'The whole of this earth is a mosque'." Iqbal, therefore, holds that the purpose of education is to see that man is not betrayed into the mistake of subordinating the mental to the physical and concentrating exclusively on the effort to gain

the whole world even at the cost of losing his soul in the process.

His position in this behalf is amply confirmed by certain recent developments in the fields of Psychology, Education and Biology. In an article contributed many years ago to the Forum of Education entitled 'The incidence of philosophy on education', Professor Hetherington argued that there is a certain meeting point of the recent work done in the fields of education, philosophy and social reconstruction. He described it as the attempt to mitigate the sharpness of the distinctions which were held to prevail between "the world of true being and the temporal and changing world of ordinary experience, between the rational intellect and other powers of the soul". It is coming to be recognised more and more that, wherever reality is to be found, it is not by turning away from the world of appearances but by penetrating to the full meaning of what is latent there. The practical implication of this view for education is that the school should attempt to elicit the intellectual, aesthetic and moral significance of the ordinary occupations and interests of life and to "find the growing point of the mind in its effort to handle the everyday, concrete problems". The modern reconstruction of curriculum and methods, which aims at bringing the social activities and occupations of life into the work of the school and encouraging methods of self-activity, problem-solving and projects may be interpreted as a recognition of this principle—a principle with which Iqbal would certainly be in agreement.

Iqbal has, however, been criticised from another point of view. In his insistence on the value of the Ideal and the Spiritual, he is sometimes accused of soaring so high as to lose all contact with the everyday world of matter in which the ordinary people have their being. Some of his poetry has also been interpreted as implying a dualism between the ideal and the real world and a deprecation of the latter.

A superficial study of some of his poems does, indeed, lend colour to this charge. Thus in *Bal-i-Jibril,* he makes a clear distinction between the 'world of mind' (من کی دنیا) and the 'world of body' (تن کی دنیا) :

من کی دنیا؛ من کی دنیا سوز و مستی جذب و شوق
تن کی دنیا؛ تن کی دنیا سود و سودا مکر و فن
من کی دولت ہاتھ آتی ہے تو پھر جاتی نہیں
تن کی دولت چھاؤں ہے، آتا ہے دھن جاتا ہے دھن!
من کی دُنیا میں نہ پایا میں نے افرنگی کا راج
من کی دُنیا میں نہ دیکھے میں نے شیخ و برہمن
پانی پانی کر گئی مجھ کو قلندر کی یہ بات
تو جھکا جب غیر کے آگے نہ من تیرا نہ تن!

What is the world of the mind ?
Yearning and intoxication, absorption and eagerness !
What is the world of the body ?
Profit and loss, artifice and intrigue !
Once achieved, the riches of the mind abide ;
The riches of the body are like the shadows—
They come and they pass away !
No foreigner rules in the world of the mind.
Nor any priests or Shaikhs or Brahmans.
Deeply was I humiliated by the Qalandar's remark :

"When you bow before others,
Neither the body nor the mind are yours!"[1]

However, if we examine the whole trend of his thought—in his poetical works and his *Lectures*—we shall find that the allegation is not correct. He is emphatically opposed to those pseudomystics, other-worldly idealists and self-centred aesthetes who would cheerfully ignore the evils, injustices and imperfections of this material world, give up active effort in behalf of its reconstruction and seek cowardly compensation in cultivating their own selfish interests—intellectual, artistic or spiritual—in seclusion. He makes this clear in his *Lectures*: "Such a being as man who has to maintain his life in an obstructing environment cannot afford to ignore the visible. The Quran opens our eyes to the great fact of change, through the appreciation and control of which alone it is possible to build a durable civilization." Thus, his pre-occupation is not with the Immutable and the Unchangeable alone but he is actively concerned with this world of changing phenomena. It is only by flinging ourselves like good crusaders into this struggle that we can fulfil the purpose of our life—not by shunning the struggle on earth and keeping our head in the clouds! Listen to the lament of the 'Indian disciple' to his saint, Rumi:

آسمانوں پر مرا فکرِ بلند! میں زمیں پر خوار و زار و دردمند!
کارِ دنیا میں رہا جاتا ہوں میں! ٹھوکریں اس راہ میں کھاتا ہوں میں!
کیوں مرے بس کا نہیں کارِ زمیں؟ ابلہِ دنیا ہے کیوں دانائے دیں؟

My thought scans the Heavens,
But I live on the earth in pain and degradation!
I am a failure in the affairs of the world,
Always stumbling in its path!

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 49.

Why can I not manage this earthly business ?
Why is the wise man of religion a fool on earth ?

To this Rumi cryptically replies !

آں کہ بر افلاک رفتارش بود ۔ بر زمیں رفتن چہ دشوارش بود

He who can stalk across the skies
Should not find it difficult to walk on earth ! [1]

meaning thereby that any one who is really gifted with the intellectual and creative activity of the spirit *must* make a good job of his life here and now. It is a false and degrading "spirituality" which weakly puts up with worldly degeneration and injustice for oneself or one's fellows. The proper cultivation and strengthening of individuality is equally necessary for the conquest of the two worlds—that is the implication of the *Qalandar's* remark in the verses quoted above from *Bal-i-Jibril*. If one is lacking in self-reliance and self-confidence and cultivates a mendicant's mentality, one is likely to forfeit both the worlds at a single stroke.

But, while duly cognisant of the claims of the material world, he is keenly appreciative of the spiritual self in man, and his entire philosophical thought is imbued with a deeply religious spirit. He refuses to believe that the world of matter alone constitutes the whole of Reality and that man should concern himself exclusively with its interests and problems. The goods of the mind and the riches of the spirit, always aspiring upward, are far too valuable to be sacrificed at the altar of a crass materialism. Man's creativity is not confined to the reshaping of matter alone; he has also "the capacity to build a much vaster world in the depths of his own inner being, wherein he discovers sources of infinite joy and inspiration"—in art and poetry, literature and science, philosophy and religion. In the pursuit of these cultural and spiritual values, he should make use of the physical world as

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, pp. 189 190.

his raw material and exploit its possibilities for strengthening the upward movement of the human spirit. "The relation of man to Nature must be exploited," he warns us, "in the interest *not* of unrighteous desire but in the nobler interest of a free, upward movement of spiritual life."[1] Education must keep this ideal in view if it is to fulfil its great mission in modern life.

1. *Lectures*, p. 15.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY

THE modern stress on Individuality, with which Iqbal is substantially in agreement, raises several questions. What is the nature of the relationship between the individual and society? Does the cultivation of Individuality imply that the educated men and women can afford to be unmindful of their social obligations and their dependence on the cultural achievements of their community and their people? What is the respective importance of the individual and the group of which he is a member? Should the development of the individual be regarded as the supreme end of the life process and the State as merely an instrument of his development? Or should we subscribe to Hegel's view that the State is a super-personal entity whose strength and integrity are far more important than the rights of individuals?

Iqbal, as we have seen, attached the highest value to Individuality but—and this is a significant characteristic of his philosophic thought—he never allowed himself to be betrayed into a one-sided extreme position. With his broad vision and insight, he takes a balanced view of their respective claims. He duly recognizes the importance of the culture-patterns of community life, which some modern educationists have tended to ignore in their eagerness to stress Individuality as the end of the educative process and the goal of social endeavour. They have sometimes been inclined to overlook the fact that the growth of a full and free personality is impossible except as it draws its spiritual sustenance from the culture of the group to which it belongs. On the other side, is the extreme view advocated by various totalitarian theories

which exalt the type, wholly subservient to the state, above the free, self-determined individual. Prof. Clarke of the University of London had discussed this issue in one of the Year Books of Education (London), with particular reference to its bearing on education, and made this significant remark: "For, whatever else education may mean, it must mean primarily the self-perpetuation of an accepted culture—a culture which is the life of a determined society. This is true whether the cultural process is regarded, with the individualists, as the maturing of a free personality through the cultural sustenance which the life of a society can offer, or with the totalitarians, as the affirmation of the one spiritual whole, in its temporary and partial bearers and servants, the citizens."[1] He is, however, careful to explain that while education must produce the 'type', it is equally necessary that, in the words of Prof. Hocking, 'it must provide the growth beyond the type.' Modern educational theory, therefore, must concentrate particularly upon "the critical issue of a double relation of the type to society—on the one hand, the claim of the society to perpetuate itself in the type and, on the other hand, the claim of the type to become more than a type—a person—and so to react fruitfully, if critically, upon the society which has produced him."[2] In the tragic conflict of political doctrines it must seek for its anchor somewhere between the disruptive and disintegrating influences of the one and the wholly repressive and inhibitory pressure of the other.

Iqbal has discussed the issue with keen insight in his *Masnavi, Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (The Mysteries of Selflessness), which is a thoughtful elucidation of the nature of relationship between the individual and the cultural life of the community in which he lives, moves and has his being. Alone, he is weak and powerless; his energies are scattered and his aims narrow, diffuse and indefinite. It is the active and living membership of a vital community that confers on him a sense of power and

1. *Year Book of Education*, (1936), p. 249.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

makes him conscious of great collective purposes which deepen and widen the scope for the growth of his individual Self :

فرد قائم ربطِ ملّت سے ہے، تنہا کچھ نہیں
موج ہے دریا میں، اور بیرونِ دریا کچھ نہیں

The Individual exists in relation to the community.
Alone, he is nothing !
The wave exists in the river,
Outside the river it is nothing ! [1]

This is how Iqbal elucidates his conception of their mutual relationship :

فرد می گیرد ز ملّت احترام　　ملّت از افراد می یابد نظام
فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود　　قطرۂ وسعت طلب قلزم شود
در روِش ذوقِ نمو از ملّت است　　احتسابِ کارِ او از ملّت است
در زبانِ قوم گویا می شود　　بر رہِ اسلاف پویا می شود
ہر کہ آب از زمزمِ ملّت نخورد　　شعلہ ہائے نغمہ در عودش فسرد
فرد تنہا از مقاصد غافل است　　قوتش آشفتگی را مائل است
قوم با ضبط آشنا گرداندش　　نرم رو مثلِ صبا گرداندش

1. *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 210.

The Individual gains significance through the community,
The Community achieves its organization through individuals!
When the individual loses himself in the community,
The drop, striving for expansion, becomes the ocean!
The community inspires him with the desire for self-expression
And sits in exacting judgment on his work!
He speaks the language of his people
And treads the path of his forefathers!
If he does not drink at the *Zamzam* of the community
The flames of music turn to ashes in his lute!
By himself, the Individual grows indifferent to his purposes,
His powers are inclined to become dormant!
The community invests him with self-discipline,
Making his movements rhythmic like the breeze.[1]

Having explained how the individual's powers and purposes take their inspiration and their characteristic colour from the life of the community, he advises him to "string himself like a jewel in its chain"; otherwise he is in danger of being "wafted about aimlessly like the dust".[2]

چوں گہر در رشتۂ او سفتہ شو ورنہ مانندِ غبار آشفتہ شو

He points out that, through such relationship, the individual may even transcend mortality and gain the immortal life. "The individual who loses himself in the community"—*i.e.*, in the service of its great ideals and purposes—"reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror so that he transcends mortality and enters into the life of Islam which is infinite and everlasting."[3]

What, it may be asked, is the right basis for the unity of a community? What is the cementing bond which gives coherence to its life and links up its members into one indivi-

1. *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, pp. 98-99.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
3. *The Secrets of the Self*, p. xiv. (Preface).

sible whole ? The modern mind is either dominated by the mania of territorial patriotism or obsessed with racial fanaticism and regards race and country as the only integrating forces in the life of a people. The nationalist movements of the 18th and 19th centuries had accentuated the sentiment of narrow patriotism. Then before the comparatively recent movements of international socialism could make such headway to break down national antagonisms, the new exclusivist doctrines of Fascism and Nazism, with their ideology of race-worship and deprecation or hatred of other races ushered in still more dangerous tendencies. Against this gloomy background, Iqbal's point of view, which is an expression of the political philosophy of Islam provides a refreshing contrast. He has an uncompromising antagonism to the whole idea of race and colour and to the narrow doctrines of nationalism and patriotism which obstruct the development of a broad, human outlook. According to him, it is not racial or geographical unity—mere accidents of time and space—which can form the right basis of a people's coherence. It is the unity of emotions and outlook, of purposes and endeavour, the merging of individual selves in the service of great, co-operative ideals and objectives, the sharing of common sufferings and achievements which cement a collection of individuals into a genuine *Millat* or community :

ملّت از یک رنگیِ دلہاستے — روشن از یک جلوہ این سیناستے

قوم را اندیشہ ہا باید یکے — در ضمیرش مدّعا باید یکے

جذبہ باید در سرشتِ او یکے — ہم عیارِ خوب و زشتِ او یکے

اصلِ ملّت در وطن دیدن کہ چہ — باد و آب و گِل پرستیدن کہ چہ

برنسب نازاں شدن نادانی است — حکمِ اُو اندر تن و تن فانی است
ملّتِ ما را اساسِ دیگر است — ایں اساس اندر دلِ ما مضمر است

The unity of hearts brings the *Millat* into being;
This *Sina* is aglow with that single flame!
A nation should have a unity of ideas,
One single purpose running through its mind!
A unity of sentiments should inspire its being,
And agreed criterion for sifting good from evil!
What is this folly, identifying the *Millat* with the country?
What is this folly, worshipping water and air and clay?
It is foolish to pride oneself on one's ancestry,
For it has sway over the body and the body is mortal.
Our *Millat* has an entirely different basis—
It is enshrined in the sanctuary of our hearts. [1]

Having rejected what he holds to be the wrong concept of the *Millat*, he goes on to define its correct meaning:

چیست ملّت اے کہ گوئی لا الٰہ؟ — با ہزاراں چشم بودن یک نگہ!
اہلِ حق را حجّت و دعوے یکے است — "خیمہ ہائے ما جدا، دلہا یکے است"
ذرّہ ہا از یک نگاہی آفتاب — یک نگہ شو تا شود حق بے حجاب
یک نگاہی را بچشمِ کم مبیں — از تجلّی ہائے توحید است ایں!
مردۂ؛ از یک نگاہی زندہ شو — بگذر از بے مرکزی پایندہ شو
وحدتِ افکار و کردار آفریں — تا شوی اندر جہاں صاحب نگیں

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 106-107.

What is *Millat*, ye believers in the oneness of God ?
It means having one sight in a thousand eyes !
Men of truth follow the same reasoning, make the same claim :
"Our tents may be apart but our hearts are united !"
Unity of outlook transforms specks of dust into the Sun ;
With a singleness of Vision, you will see Truth unveiled ;
Do not look down upon this unity of outlook ;
It is a reflection of the unity of God !
Art thou dead ? This unity of outlook will revive thee ;
Give up this life without a centre and attain firmness.
Wouldst thou attain prestige and power ?
Strive for the unity of thought and action.[1]

Without such unity a community becomes disorganized, feeble, dead :

زندہ فرد از ارتباطِ جان و تن　　زندہ قوم از حفظِ ناموسِ کہن
مرگِ فرد از خشکیِ رودِ حیات　　مرگِ قوم از ترکِ مقصودِ حیات

The individual lives through the relationship of the body to the mind ;
The nation through conserving its past traditions.
The individual dies if the river of life goes dry,
The nation dies if it loses hold of the purpose of life.[2]

Whenever such unity of outlook and emotions is achieved, it becomes a source of unlimited power for individuals as well as the community which can be used for *any* ends—good or evil. The *ethical* value of this power is determined by the nature of the ideas, objectives and ideals to which it is wedded. These we shall discuss in a later chapter. In interpreting his views, it is necessary to remember that Iqbal stresses different aspects of a problem from time to time. Having forcefully elucidated the dynamic role of individuality in *Asrar-i-Khudi*, he is here concerned with focussing our attention on the *inter-relationship* of the individual and the community and the

1. *J-vid Nama*, p. 227.　　2. *Ruzum-i-Bekhudi*, p. 137.

part played by the latter in shaping and moulding the former through the social and spiritual sustenance that it provides. Unlike some modern thinkers, who are impatient or contemptuous of the past and its cultural achievements and would gladly wipe the slate of history clean in order to write on it afresh, Iqbal recognizes the power and hold of the past on the human mind and is fully aware of the value of History in the education and the evolution of a people. He realizes that a community cannot gain a true understanding of its inner self without an intelligent study of its own history and historical evolution. It is a clear and cumulative appreciation of its manifold cultural associations which knits it into a strong unity and gives it real intellectual maturity :

ملّتِ نوزادہ مثلِ طفلک است   طفلکے کو درکنارِ مامک است
طفلکے از خویشتن ناآگہے   گوھرِ آلودۂ خاکِ رہے
بستہ بامروزِ او فرداش نیست   حلقہ ہائے روز و شب در پاش نیست
چشمِ ہستی را مثالِ مردم است   غیر را بینندہ و از خود گم است
صد گرہ از رشتۂ خود وا کند   تا سرِ تارِ خودی پیدا کند
گرم چوں افتد بکارِ روزگار   ایں شعورِ تازہ گردد پایدار
سرگذشتِ او گر از یادش رود   باز اندر نیستی گم می شود

A new-born *Millat* is like a young child.
Nestling in the lap of his nurse !
A child who does not know himself yet,

A jewel overlaid by the roadside dust !
Its today is not linked up with its tomorrow,
Its feet untrammelled by the chain of day and night !
It is like the pupil of the eye of existence,
Which sees others but is invisible to itself !
It unites a hundred knots from its chain
Till it unwinds the end of the thread of the Self !
When it warms up to the struggle of existence,
The new consciousness grows keener and stronger !
If it becomes oblivious of its past history
It lapses into non-existence.[1]

But the history to which he would assign a place of honour in education is not just sensational story or a legend, recounting interesting but unimportant happenings of bygone ages. It is history which vividly recreates the past, mirrors—as in a looking glass—the sources and achievements of a people's culture and gives them a true understanding of their place and function in the general march of mankind. The living assimilation of this past history gives them a sense of power and self-confidence and strengthens their individuality.

چیست تاریخ اے ز خود بیگانۂ — داستانے قصّۂ افسانۂ؟

ایں ترا از خویشتن آگہ کند — آشنائے کار و مردِ رہ کند

ہم چو خنجر بر فسانت می زند — باز بر روئے جہانت می زند

شعلۂ افسردہ در سوزش نگر — دوش در آغوشِ امروزش نگر

شمعِ او بختِ اُمم را کوکب است — روشن از وے امشب و ہم دیشب است

چشمِ پُرکارے کہ بیند رفتہ را — پیشِ تو باز آفریند رفتہ را

1. *Rumuz-i Bekhudi* p. 1/1.

ضبط کن تاریخ را پاینده شو   از نفس هائے رمیده زنده شو
سر زند از ماضئ تو حال تو   خیزد از حال تو استقبال تو

مشکن ار خواهی حیات لازوال   رشتهٔ ماضی ز استقبال و حال

موج ادراک تسلسل زندگی است   مے کشاں را شورِ قلقل زندگی است

What is history, O stranger to thyself ?
A tale, a story or a fable ?
No ! It makes thee conscious of self,
Capable in action and efficient in quest !
Sharpens thee like a dagger on the whetstone
And then strikes thee on the face of thy world !
Behold the dormant flame in its fire,
Behold Tomorrow in the lap of its Today !
Its candle is a guiding star for the nation's luck
Making bright both tonight and yesternight !
The experienced eye that beholds the past
Recreates its image before thee !
Assimilate history and grow strong,
Drawing life from the breaths that are gone !
Thy Present rears its head out of the Past,
And thy Future emerges out of the Present !
Wouldst thou achieve the everlasting life ?
Sever not the bonds of the past with the present and the Future !

Life is the perception of the surge of continuity ;
For the wine-drinkers, it is the gurgling of the wine in the flask ! [1]

Iqbal further holds that, in periods of decadence, a people can gain new vitality by turning to the healthy sources of their past culture. By striking their feet, as it were, firmly on the ground of this culture, they gain, like Antaeus, fresh power and inspiration. In such critical periods, he deprecates excessive untrammelled individualism and unchecked liberty

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 172-173.

of thought which ignore the values of the past in determining the right course of action and degenerate into license.

مضمحل گردد چو تقویمِ حیات ‏ ملّت از تقلید می گیرد ثبات
راہِ آبا رو کہ این جمعیّت است ‏ معنیٔ تقلید ضبطِ ملّت است
بحر گم کردی زیاں اندیش باش ‏ حافظِ جوئے کم آبِ خویش باش
اجتہاد اندر زمانِ انحطاط ‏ قوم را برہم ہمی پیچد بساط
ز اجتہادِ عالمانِ کم نظر ‏ اقتدا بر رفتگاں محفوظ تر

When the texture of life has become weak and worn out,
The community gains stability through imitation !
Tread the path of thy fathers—it spells unity ;
Such imitation means the discipline of the community !
Thou hast lost the ocean ; learn to control thy loss !
Guard carefully the water in thy small stream !
Ijtihad in the age of decadence
Dislocates the texture of a nation's life !
Following the way of those who have gone before
Is safer than *Ijtihad* by scholars without vision ! [1]

If these verses are taken by themselves, without reference to the general trend of Iqbal's thought, they would seem to favour a static or conservative conception of culture and a rejection of the dynamic, forward-looking outlook. But, as already pointed out, Iqbal has drawn pointed attention here to *one* important aspect of the situation. To put his viewpoint into right perspective, it is necessary to take his ideas as a whole and evaluate them in the general context of his thinking.

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 143-144.

Such a comprehensive approach would show that his is a kindred spirit to Goethe and Carlyle, fully appreciative of the role of original, creative individuals in the development and progressive reconstruction of the life of a community. The social order always tends to be stable and stationary; it is only such individuals, possessing independence of thought and originality of vision, who can give it new values and introduce a dynamic element into its routine. When a community becomes lazy, slothful, disinclined to effort and averse to change, some great individual is born to give it a new impetus :

سُست بے جاں تار و پودِ کارِ اُو　　ناکشودہ غنچۂ پندارِ اُو

جانِ اُو از سخت کوشی رم زند -　　پنجہ در دامانِ فطرت کم زند

ناخدا صاحب دلے پیدا کند　　کو ز حرفے دفترے املا کند

ساز پردازے کہ از آوازۂ،　　خاک را بخشد حیاتِ تازۂ

تازہ اندازِ نظر پیدا کند　　گلستاں در دشت و در پیدا کند

عقلِ عُریاں را دہد پیرایۂ　　بخشد ایں بے مایہ را سرمایۂ

بندہا از پا کُشاید بندہ را　　از خداونداں رُباید بندہ را

گُویدش تو بندۂ دیگر نۂ　　زیں بتانِ بے زباں کمتر نۂ

When the web and woof of his activity is slow and lifeless;
And the bud of his intellect is unopened,
When he fights shy of effort and struggle,
And does not exploit the treasures of Nature,

God brings into being some inspired Person,
Who expands a single creative word into a volume :
A player who, with his musical notes,
Endows this clay with a new life !
He creates new lines of insight,
And brings a garden to bloom in the desert !
He gives a new form to the naked intellect,
And invests its poverty with riches !
He strikes off the fetters from the feet of the slaves
And frees them from the tyranny of gods !
He reassures them that they are no one's bondsmen,
Nor inferior to these mute idols ! [1]

This idea recurs very frequently in his poetry and is to be found as a central motif of thought in all his writings :

فرد بر می خیزد از مُشتِ گلے   قوم زاید از دلِ صاحب دلے

The individual is born of a handful of dust,
The nation out of the heart of an inspired individual.[2]

Of such great and unique individuals he sings with lyrical fervour :

مردِ حق از آسماں اُفتد چو برق   ہیزمِ اُو شہر و دشتِ غرب و شرق
ما ہمہ با سوزِ اُو صاحب دلیم   ورنہ نقشِ باطلِ آب و گلیم

The man of God descends from Heaven like lightning,
Consuming in his fire cities and plains, East and West ;
We are all emotionally inspired by his fire,
Otherwise we would be but poor creatures of water and clay.[3]

It need hardly be pointed out that Iqbal is using here the language of metaphor. He does not obviously look forward to the coming of some great blood-thirsty conqueror, a

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 102-103.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
3. *Javid Nama*, p. 244.

scourge to the East and the West, the towns and the countryside. The emphasis is on "man of God." As the second verse indicates, he is a man with uniqueness of vision and intensity of feeling who broadens our outlook and our sympathies. He is to burn away the cobwebs of old, effete and out-worn institutions and inspire men with a new message of hope and creative life, making them '*sāhib-dil*,' *i.e.*, endowed with sensitive hearts.

This doctrine of Individuality for Iqbal is not a mere academic thesis; it is charged with urgent practical significance. The reason appears to be twofold. On the one hand, he had a poignant realization of the general decadence that has beset the Muslim world for the last two centuries, due largely to the lack of the right kind of intellectual and moral leadership. Secondly, the recrudescence of certain political movements in the West, which seek to repress the freedom of the individual through the over-organization of collective life, made him stress specially the value of Individuality. In his *Lectures*, he has given unambiguous expression to his views on this question. In an interesting and thoughtful discussion of the conditions prevailing at the time of the destruction of Baghdad in the 13th century, which brought general disintegration of the Muslim world in its wake, he points out how the conservative thinkers of the period had focussed all their efforts and attention on "the one point of preserving a uniform social life for the people by a jealous exclusion of all innovations . . . Their leading idea was social order, and there is no doubt they were partly right, because organization does to a certain extent counteract the forces of decay. But they did not see, and our modern Ulama do not see, that the ultimate fate of a people does not depend so much on organization *as on the worth and power of individual men*. In an over-organized society, an individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole world of social thought around him and loses his own soul. Thus a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection—such as we see in many Eastern

and Western countries today—constitute no remedy for the peoples' decay. The only effective power, therefore, that counteracts the forces of decay in a people is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals. Such individuals alone reveal the depths of life. They disclose new standards in the light of which we begin to see that our environment is not wholly inviolable and requires revision."

This principle is relevant not only to certain collectivist States in the West where over-organization and a "false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection" have killed freedom of thought and arrested the forward movement of the human spirit, but also to India and Pakistan and many other countries of the East. Here also we find certain tendencies of revivalism which are likely to retard rather than accelerate progress. A due reverence for the values of the past does *not*, and *should* not, mean a failure to take new forces and movements into account and to make necessary adjustments. Iqbal has quoted, with approval, this significant remark of a modern historian: "The verdict of history is that worn-out ideas have never risen to power among a people who have worn them out." Thus, on a careful weighing of evidence, it would be seen that Iqbal takes a *dynamic* view of human culture. For him, the development of individuality inevitably implies what he has called "the principle of movement in thought" without which the wings of the human spirit become clipped and it tends to subsist only on fruitless, "worn-out ideas." The relationship between the individual and the community must, therefore, be interpreted as one of dynamic, mutually enriching give-and-take and education should be oriented accordingly.

CHAPTER V

CREATIVE EVOLUTION

EQUIPPED with a free personality and actively in contact with his environment, man sets out on his career of unlimited development which, in its essence, is the process of his education. The question naturally arises: What is the character of this Universe and the nature of man's role in it? Philosophy has always been preoccupied with this problem, and it matters profoundly for education whether one takes a mechanistic or creative, pessimistic or optimistic, determinist or free view of man's life and activity on earth. Iqbal rejects the idea of a closed, predetermined Universe in which nothing new can ever take place, which is subject to Nietzsche's gloomy law of "eternal recurrence." Discussing the character of the universe in the light of Quranic teaching, he points out that it is not the result of mere 'creative sport' but is a serious and meaningful reality which must be accepted with all its opportunities and limitations. Nor is it a block Universe given ready—made once for all—finished, immobile, incapable of change. "To my mind," he remarks, "there is nothing more alien to the Quranic world than the idea that the Universe is a temporal working-out of a pre-conceived plan . . . an already completed product which left the hand of its Maker ages ago and is now lying stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing and consequently is nothing."[1] It is really a *growing* Universe, capable of infinite increase and extension; for "deep in its being lies perhaps the dream of a new birth."[2] To the pessimist, who doubts the great possibilities of man's further evolution, he says:

1. *Lectures*, p. 48.

2. *Ibid*., p. 16.

گماں مبر کہ بپایاں رسید کارِ مغاں   ہزار بادۂ ناخوردہ در رگِ تاک است

Imagine not that the tavern-keeper's work
Has come to its appointed end ;
For there are a thousand wines still,
Untasted, in the veins of the grape.[1]

Elsewhere, he puts it more unambiguously still :

یہ کائنات ابھی ناتمام ہے شاید   کہ آرہی ہے دمادم صدائے کُن فیکون!

This Universe is perhaps still unfinished,
For one can hear the command :
"Let there be" and lo ! it is born.[2]

This Universe, then, which is an open, unfinished entity, constantly undergoing increase and extension, provides a stimulating field for man's free and creative activity through which, on the one hand, he conquers the world of Nature and, on the other, brings to perfection the latent powers of his own individuality. To begin with, the world was chaotic, rough-hewn, dominated by wild beasts and untamed natural forces. Man has brought order, beauty and utility into it and, with pardonable impudence, he challenges God Himself, claiming to have improved His handiwork beyond recognition :

تو شب آفریدی چراغ آفریدم   سفال آفریدی ایاغ آفریدم
بیابان و کہسار و راغ آفریدی   خیابان و گلزار و باغ آفریدم
من آنم کہ از سنگِ آئینہ سازم   من آنم کہ از زہر نوشینہ سازم

Thou created the night, I the lamp ;
Thou created the clay, I the vase !

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 109. 2. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 44.

Thou created the jungle, mountains and deserts,
I created gardens, orchards and flower-plots!
It is I who make glass out of stone,
It is I who extract elixir out of poison.[1]

Yet he is dissatisfied with the imperfect world in which he finds himself and, failing to perceive that it is just this imperfection which challenges and brings out his latent creativity, he feels irritated and complains to his Creator:

صد جہاں می روید از کشتِ خیالِ ما چو گُل — یک جہان و آں ہم از خونِ تمنّا ساختی
طرحِ نو افگن کہ ما جدّت پسند افتادہ ایم — ایں چہ حیرت خانۂ امروز و فردا ساختی!

A hundred worlds, beautiful as flowers,
Spring out of my imagination!
Thou hast created but one world,
And even that is steeped in the blood of desire!
Bring new patterns into being,
For our nature craves originality!
What is this labyrinth of todays and tomorrows
That Thou hast created around us?[2]

So we come back to the question: What is Iqbal's vision of the true destiny of man? What is the role which he is to play on this earthly stage? In the early stages of his career, man is surrounded on all sides by forces of obstruction. But he is by nature restless, inquisitive, "engrossed in a ceaseless quest after fresh scopes for self-expression." As the possessor of a free personality, he is superior to all other created beings, shaping his own destiny and that of his Universe—now by adjusting himself to it, now by pressing its forces into the service of his increasing purposes.

In the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, he gives a fascinating picture of man's spiritual evolution on earth in a poem entitled *Taskhir-i-Fitrat* (Conquest of Nature). In the first section, *Milād-i-*

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 132.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Adam (The Birth of Adam), he points out how Adam—*i.e.*, man born of passive clay but a centre of creative and dynamic energy and gifted with the powers of action, appreciation, intelligence and love—stirs, in the humanless void of the Universe, a disturbance fraught with far-reaching consequences. He is able to do so, because he has the capacity to defeat the inertia of matter and the audacity to try to reconstruct the Universe nearer to his heart's desire.

نعرہ زد عشق کہ خونیں جگرے پیدا شد　　حسن لرزید کہ صاحب نظرے پیدا شد
فطرت آشفت کہ از خاکِ جہانِ مجبور　　خودگرے، خودشکنے، خودنگرے پیدا شد
خبرے رفت ز گردوں بہ شبستانِ ازل　　حذر اے پردگیاں پردہ درے پیدا شد
آرزو بیخبر از خویش بآغوشِ حیات　　چشم وا کرد و جہانِ دگرے پیدا شد

Love proclaimed the birth of a being with a bleeding heart!
Beauty trembled at the advent of a being gifted with vision!
Nature worried that, out of passive clay,
Was born at last a being,
Self-creating, self-destroying, self-regarding!
Word went round from the heavens to the night of Eternity,
'Beware ye who are veiled, the render of veils is born at last!'
Desire, unconscious of self, wrapt in slumber,
Opened its eyes in the lap of life,
And lo! a new world came into being! [1]

Due to this creativity man has been able to defeat his own limitations, to conquer space and time and, as Bergson has

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 97.

pointed out, he has developed motor mechanisms, perfected the marvellous instrument of language and evolved a rich social life which has enormously increased his powers of activity. Iqbal puts it symbolically thus :

زطیّارہ ما بال و پر ساختیم سوئے آسماں رہگذر ساختیم

We have made the aeroplane into our wings,
And wended our way to the skies.[1]

Thus, in this process of active reconstruction, he has become a co-worker with God and taken the initiative in consciously bringing about far-reaching changes in the natural as well as the social and moral world around him.

In the *Javid Nama*, the voice of God addresses man in these unforgetable words, which challenge his freedom and creativity to high endeavour :

زندگی ہم فانی و ہم باقی است
این ہمہ خلّاقی و مشتاقی است!

زندہ؟ مشتاق شو خلّاق شو
ہم چو ما گیرندۂ آفاق شو!

در شکن آنرا کہ ناید سازگار
از ضمیر خود دگر عالم بیار!

بندۂ آزاد را آید گراں
زیستن اندر جہانِ دیگراں؛

ہر کہ اُو را قوّتِ تخلیق نیست
پیشِ ما جز کافر و زندیق نیست!

از جمالِ ما نصیبِ خود نبرد،
از نخیلِ زندگانی بر نخورد

مردِ حق! برّندہ چوں شمشیر باش
خود جہانِ خویش را تقدیر باش!

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 162.

Life is both mortal and immortal;
It is all creativity and eagerness !
Art thou alive ? Be eager, be creative,
Like Us encompass the whole Universe !
Shatter into pieces what is uncongenial,
Bring forth another world out of thy imagination !
It is irksome to the man who is free
To live in a world of others' making !
He who lacks the power of creation
Is naught to us but an atheist and an agnostic !
He has not taken his share of Our Beauty,
He has not eaten the fruit of the Tree of Life !
Man of truth ! Be sharp and incisive like the sword,
And forge the destiny of thy own world. [1]

This is a stirring call to man to shatter this "sorry scheme of things entire" into bits and to build a new and better social order. Such a view of his destiny, recognizing its great possibilities but insisting on the role of strenuous endeavour, avoids the temptation of a cheap, facile optimism as well as the paralysing effect of a gloomy pessimism. It is in harmony with the teachings of Islam about the relationship between the individual and the Universe. This is how Iqbal elucidates the position :

"To the optimist Browning all is well with the world ; to the pessimist Schopenhauer the world is one perpetual winter wherein a blind will expresses itself in a variety of living things which bemoan their existence for a moment and then disappear for ever . . . The issue thus raised between optimism and pessimism cannot be finally decided at the present stage of our knowledge of the Universe . . . We cannot understand the full import of the great cosmic forces which work havoc and at the same time sustain and amplify life. The teaching of the Quran which believes in the possibility of improvement in the behaviour of man and his control over natural forces, is neither optimism nor pessimism. It is *meliorism* which recognizes a growing Universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual triumph over evil." [2]

1. *Javid Nama*, p. 225. 2. *Lectures*, p. 78.

An analysis of Iqbal's philosophical position also shows that he is opposed both to the mechanistic determinism of the physical sciences which denies autonomy and freedom to man and believes in a rigid causality,[1] and to that false interpretation of teleology which holds that "all is given ready-made somewhere in eternity and the temporal order of events is nothing more than a mere imitation of the eternal mould." The latter view, he argues, is "hardly distinguishable from mechanism; in fact, it is a kind of veiled materialism in which fate or destiny takes the place of rigid determinism, leaving no scope for human or even divine intervention."[2] The world, visualized as "a process realizing a preordained goal," is poles apart from Iqbal's *weltanschauung*, because it is not "a world of free, responsible moral agents . . . [but] only a stage on which puppets are made to move by a kind of pull from behind."[3] The relevance of this discussion here is that such a view lies behind the popular interpretation of *Taqdir* (Destiny), which has maintained a firm hold on the minds of the peoples of the East and has tended to paralyse their powers of action. It denies creativity to man and interprets the movement of history as "a gradually revealed photo of a predetermined order of events." If this were true, there would be no room in it for novelty and initiative. Consequently, we could not attatch any meaning to the word *creation*, which has a meaning for us only in the context of our capacity for original action. Iqbal's interpretation of destiny, which takes its inspiration from the Quran, is significantly different. "The destiny of a thing is not an unrelenting fate working from without like a task-master; it is the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of compulsion."[4] It follows, there-

1. Recent developments in Physics and Biology, however, have tended to shake the scientists' belief in rigid determinism (see Joad's *Guide to Modern Thought*).

2. *Lectures*, p. 51. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 52. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

fore, that for every individual "the future exists only as an open possibility and not as a reality or as a fixed order of events with definite outlines."[1] It also implies that time is a creative factor and gives scope for free activity and development; it is not a "mere repetition of homogeneous moments which make conscious experience a delusion" and the idea of freedom and creation a mockery. Such a view removes the oppressive weight of an inexorable destiny from our shoulders, and we realize, with Iqbal, that "every act of a free Ego creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding, [that] every moment in the life of Reality is original, giving birth to what is absolutely novel and unforseeable. That is why it is impossible to explain the creative activity of life in terms of mechanism . . . Life with its intense feeling of spontaneity constitutes a centre of indetermination and thus falls outside the domain of necessity."[2] The true interpretation of life, then, according to Iqbal, is that it is a constant process of Becoming, a progressive formation of fresh ends, purposes and values to which we subject our growing activity. "We become," says Iqbal tersely, "by ceasing to be what we are. Life is a passage through a series of deaths,"[3] though even death cannot quench its surging flame !

Iqbal does not believe that the process of creative Evolution has come to an end with the emergence of man as he is today, in the existing spatio-temporal order or that his present structure, physiological and mental, is the consummation of the biological evolution. He has a living and passionate faith in the unlimited possibilities of man's development; he visualizes him as destined to win his way, through persistent effort and struggle, to the position of God's vicegerency on Earth. He is acutely dissatisfied with men as they are—inferior in calibre, limited in intellect, full of meanness and cruelty—and often raises his voice, in challenging lament to God, to condemn this inferiority :

1. *Lectures*, p. 58.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

نقشِ دگر طراز دہ آدمِ پختہ تر بیار　　لعبتِ خاک ساختن می نسزد خدائے را

Fashion a new pattern,
Bring a more perfect Adam into existence !
This making of playthings of clay
Is not worthy of God, the Creator ![1]

And again :

ہو نقش اگر باطل تکرار سے کیا حاصل　　کیا تجھ کو خوش آتی ہے آدم کی یہ ارزانی

If the pattern is poor, what does repetition avail ?
How can the cheapness of man meet Thy approval ? [2]

His qualified admiration for Nietzsche—with whose ideas he has certain superficial similarities which have misled many students of his thought—is based on the latter's search for a better type of man—the Superman. He explains Nietzsche's stand in this verse :

از سستیِ عناصرِ انساں دلش تپید　　فکرِ حکیم پیکرِ محکم تر آفرید

His heart fretted over the lethargy of man's capacities,
His keen mind created a more perfect pattern.[3]

But while Nietzsche despaired of men as they are, was contemptuous of all democratic movements and their possibilities and hoped for the miraculous appearance of his Superman, Iqbal had a profound faith in his fellow beings and in the power of the right ideology and right education to transform them by developing their inner richness. And his poetry bears ample testimony to this faith :

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 192.
2. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 31.
3. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 238.

عروجِ آدمِ خاکی سے انجم سہمے جاتے ہیں
کہ یہ ٹوٹا ہوا تارا مہِ کامل نہ بن جائے

The stars tremble in their courses over man's upward march
Lest this fallen star should become the perfect moon ! [1]

Life, as he interprets it, is a perpetual motion, a continuous journey of man to new goals and new triumphs. For him rest spells death :

راہرو کو داند اسرارِ سفر ترسد از منزل ز رہزن بیشتر
عشق در ہجر و وصال آسودہ نیست بے جمالِ لایزال آسودہ نیست!
ابتدا پیشِ بتاں افتادگی انتہا از دلبراں آزادگی!
کیشِ ما مانندِ موجِ تیزگام اختیارِ جادہ و ترکِ مقام

The wayfarer who knows the secrets of travel
Is more afraid of the goal than of the highway dacoit !
Love is not satisfied with the cycle of union and separation.
It craves for nothing less than Beauty everlasting !
It begins with prostration before idols
And ends with liberation from the beloved !
Our creed, like that of the swift-footed wave,
Is the adoption of the road and rejection of the goal ! [2]

Hence we find that optimism about the future of mankind is woven into the texture of his poetry side by side with dissatisfaction over his actual state :

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 14.
2. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, 48.

مشو نومید زین مشتِ غبارے   پریشاں جلوۂ ناپایدارے
چو فطرت می تراشد پیکرے را   تمامش می کند در روزگارے

Despair not of this handful of dust,
Unsteady of light and transitory!
When Nature fashions a form,
It perfects it in its own good time![1]

Man is the repository of unlimited powers waiting to be perfected and what is more important is man's *promise*, not his failures or actual achievements:

ز انجم تا بہ انجم صد جہاں بود   خرد ہر جا کہ پر زد آسماں بود
ولیکن چوں بخود نگریستم من   کران بیکراں در من نہاں بود

There are a hundred worlds from star to star,
Whenever Intellect flies, it finds new skies!
But when I looked deep into myself,
Lo! a boundless ocean was hidden within me.[2]

That is why, for Iqbal, this terrestrial world, with its priceless asset of human personality is far more significant and valuable than the great Heavens with all their suns and stars. When the Heavens taunt the Earth with its darkness and pettiness, the Earth is overcome with sadness:

چوں تو در پہنائے من کورے کجا   جز بقندیلم ترا نورے کجا
یا بزی با ساز و برگِ دلبری   یا بمیر از ننگ و عارِ کمتری

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 48.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

There is no dark planet like thee in my domain,
Lightless and blind but for my lamp!
Either live clothed in attraction
Or die of the shame of inferiority![1]

But the Voice of Life puts heart into her, reminding her that it is the throb of conscious and creative life in man, living in her bosom, which gives meaning to the whole of the Universe:

اے امینے از امانت بے خبر　　غم مخور، اندر ضمیرِ خود نگر
روز ہا روشن ز غوغائے حیات　　نے ازاں نورے کہ بینی در جہات
عقلِ آدم بر جہاں شبخوں زند　　عشقِ اُو بر لامکاں شبخوں زند
داغہا شوید ز دامانِ وجود　　بے نگاہِ اُو جہاں کور و کبود!
ہر کہ عاشق شد جمالِ ذات را　　اُوست سیّد جملہ موجودات را

Trustee, unaware of the sacred trust,
Grieve not, look into thyself!
The days are brightened by the bustle of Life
Not by this physical light thou seest around!
'Tis the Intellect of man that conquers the Universe,
'Tis Love that aspires to conquer Infinity!
It washes away the stains from the garment of life;
Without it, the eyes of the Universe would be dark and blind!

'Whoso loves truly the beauty of Being
Becomes the master of all that exists.'[2]

This is the high purpose of life which should inspire man's activity in all fields and, above all, in the field of education charged with the formation of the hearts and minds of men and women. There can be no place in it for defeatism or pessimism because it is a great adventure, invested with infinite possibilities.

1. *Javid Nama*, p. 8.　　2. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF INTELLECT AND INTUITION

WE have discussed, in the preceding chapter, Iqbal's conception of the growth of individuality and seen how he insists on the importance of creative activity in the life of man and holds that intellect has been evolved in, and for, the service of action. He has emphatically expressed the belief that knowledge, divorced from activity, is apt to become dead and superficial. This represents one phase of his revolt against the "over-intellectualism" of modern thought. We have now to consider another special phase of his thought relating to the relation between Intellect and Intuition or what, in the language of poetry, he calls *Ishq* (Love), using the word in a special sense.

Ethics and Philosophy have always been concerned with the problem of *how* man's growing activity is to be controlled and guided. This search for an ethical principle for the guidance of conduct has led various schools of thought to different conclusions. Modern thought, deeply influenced by the development of the physical and biological sciences—which represent a magnificent triumph of the human mind over matter—has come to regard the Intellect as providing a wholly adequate instrument for the guidance of life's activities. Discussing the implications of "experimentalism", as a philosophical attitude, Childs, an American representative of this school of thought, has stated : "Experimentally controlled experience is an adequate means for guiding and regulating human affairs, provided men develop the attitudes and the dispositions which the critical, constructive use of this method demands."[1] Not only pragmatists like Dewey and Kilpatrick

1. Childs' *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism.*

but also Russell and many other scientific thinkers hold that almost all the complicated problems of the modern world—social, political, ethical and psychological—can be solved by releasing human intelligence from its bondage to superstition and obscurantism and giving it supreme command over our lives.

Iqbal parts company here with these thinkers and like Bergson, impeaches contemporary thought and civilization for overstressing Intellect at the expense of Intuition or Love. He reverts to this theme—the relationship of Intellect or *Khabar* to Intuition which, in his poetry as well as his *Lectures*, he has variously called *Ishq* or *Nazar*. He begins with pointing out that there are two different ways of apprehending Reality and each has its special function and purpose in the direction and enrichment of our activity. Through reflective observation and the control of the symbols of Reality, as revealed to our sense perception, we grasp reality piecemeal, fixing our gaze on its temporal aspect. *This* is the function of the analytic intellect. Through Intuition or Love or direct perception by the 'heart' we apprehend and associate directly with Reality in its wholeness, as it reveals itself to us in an intuitive flash. We arrive at metaphysical truth, "not by exercising the intellect but by paying heed to the deliverances of a faculty called Intuition." "The heart," says Iqbal, "is a kind of inner intuition or insight which, in the beautiful words of Rumi, feeds on the rays of the sun and brings us into contact with aspects of Reality other than those open to sense perception . . . It is a mode of dealing with Reality in which sensation does not play a part [but] the experience thus revealed to us is as real and concrete as any other experience. Thus it will be seen that the two are not essentially opposed to each other, for the one is the present enjoyment of the whole Reality ; the other aims at traversing the whole by slowly specifying and closing up the various regions of the whole for exclusive observation. In fact, Intuition, as Bergson rlghtly says, is only a higher kind of

Intellect, through which we enter into and grasp the nature and meaning of Reality as an indivisible whole, even as we appreciate the meaning of a picture or a symphony."[1]

How is it, then, that Iqbal often appears to deprecate the importance of the intellect? Is he an obscurantist who, failing to understand the significant role played by the Intellect in individual and social evolution, seeks to put back the hands of the clock of time? Why is he constantly exhorting his readers to return from the cold regions of an arid Intellectualism to the warmth of Love and Intuition?

نشانِ راہ ز عقلِ ہزار حیلہ مپرس
بیا کہ عشق کمالے ز یک فنی دارد

Do not seek guidance from the Intellect
Which has a thousand wiles!
Come to Love which excels
By the singleness of its purpose![2]

"بہ خرد راہِ عشق می پوئی؟
بہ چراغ آفتاب می جوئی؟

Wilt thou tread the path of Love
By the light of the Intellect?
Wilt thou set out on the quest for the Sun
In the light of a flickering candle?[3]

علم اگر کج فطرت و بد گوہر است
پیشِ چشمِ ما حجابِ اکبر است

If knowledge is crooked and malicious
It acts as the "great blind" before our eyes![4]

دانشِ حاضر حجابِ اکبر است
بُت پرست و بُت فروش و بُت گر است

1. *Lectures.*
2. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 194.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
4. *Javid Nama*, p. 221.

پا بزندانِ مظاہر بستۂ - از حدودِ حس بروں ناجستۂ

Modern knowledge is the greatest blind
Idol-making, Idol-selling, idol-worshipping !
Shackled in the prison-house of phenomena,
It has not overleaped the limits of the sensible ![1]

گذر جا عقل سے آگے کہ یہ نور چراغِ راہ ہے منزل نہیں ہے!

Pass beyond the Intellect-post
It merely lights the way ;
It is not the goal.[2]

He makes use of a beautiful and striking simile to drive home his point :

خرد سے راہرو روشن بصر ہے - خرد کیا ہے؟ چراغِ رہگذر ہے

درونِ خانہ ہنگامے ہیں کیا کیا چراغِ رہگذر کو کیا خبر ہے!

Intellect lights up the wayfarer's eyes,
What is intellect ? a lantern by the roadside !
The storms and stresses that rage inside the house
What does the roadside lamp know about them ?[3]

Does all this imply that he wishes us to shun the guidance of scientific knowledge ? A careful study of Iqbal's thought conclusively proves that he is *not* an obscurantist. His apparent belittling of the intellect is really a protest against the tendency to over-exaggerate its role in life. Viewed in the proper perspective, Intellect and the reverent pursuit of knowledge, gained experimentally, command his high respect. In his *Lectures* he points out that "the intellectual effort to overcome the obstruction offered by it [the universal, besides enriching and amplifying our life, sharpens our insight and

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, p. 77.
2. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 119.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

thus prepares us for a more masterful insertion into the subtler aspects of human experience." He even goes further and argues that the conquest of Nature through knowledge has a deeper significance still, for in reality all search for knowledge is essentially an *act of prayer*. The scientific observer of Nature is "a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer." We revert, therefore, to the question raised above: Why does Iqbal protest against the current exaltation of the Intellect?

The answer to this question must be sought partly in the current philosophic tendencies and partly in the present socio-political situation. Both have been so overwhelmed by the triumphant materialism of the age and by the achievements of modern science, as to ignore, if not totally to reject, the values which are associated with Intuition, with Love (in Iqbal's sense of the word) and with Religious Experience. It is to establish a balance between these two complementary and significant aspects of human experience, which has been upset by modern Western civilization, that Iqbal so strongly emphasizes the role of the "heart" in the understanding and direction of life.

عصرِ حاضر را خرد زنجیرِ پاست ۔ جانِ بے تابے کہ من دارم کجاست؟

بچشمِ عشق نگر تا سراغِ او گیری ۔ جہان بچشمِ خرد سیمیا و نیرنگ است

Intellect is but a chain shackling the feet of this age;
Where is the restlessness of spirit that is mine?[1]
Behold the Universe with the eyes of Love
If you wish to discover its secrets;
Viewed with the eyes of the intellect
It is nothing but an illusion and a mirage[2]

As a philosopher interested in achieving a complete view of Reality, he cannot remain content with the partial, one-sided,

1. *Javid Nama*, p. 3.
2. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 178.

intellectualistic approach which only gives static snapshots of Reality and misses its flow and continuity. He is anxious to supplement that view through the intuitive approach, through the "perception of the heart." As a thinker concerned with the problems of the contemporary world, he is keenly alive to the dangers of accentuating a mental attitude which has been responsible, particularly in the West, for unprecedented destruction and for the unashamed exploitation of man by man on an unparalleled scale. Intellect, uninspired by Love, and Science, uncontrolled by faith in ethical principles—which Intellect alone cannot provide—have given Europe and America a ruthless economic system, an unjust social order, a bitter conflict amongst groups and classes, a craze for armaments and a perpetual threat of impending wars. All these things have made modern life full of hurry, strain, frustration and an incapacity, or distaste, for the quiet enjoyment of the genuine fruits of culture. The tendency to over activity and over-organization in the interest of purely material and competitive pursuits has become so strong that Bertrand Russell has named one of his collection of Essays, *In Praise of Idleness*!

Iqbal's object is to bring about a rapprochement between Power, born of Knowledge, and Vision which is the gift of Love or Intuition. "Vision without power," he observes, "brings moral elevation but cannot give permanent culture. Power without Vision tends to become destructive and inhuman. Both must continue for the spiritual expansion of humanity." He wanted to bring home to his generation, drunk with godless power, the urgent need of subordinating Intellect to Love in order to ensure that the tremendous power, which science has released and placed at the disposal of man, will be used for humane and constructive purposes. Like Goethe, he looks upon Satan as the embodiment of pure Intellect which, in itself, is of great value but, without the guiding hand of Love, may become an instrument of terrible destruction. For this Satan he has a soft corner in his heart,

but he realizes that unless the powers of Satan are wedded to those of Adam, humanity cannot achieve its full development. His poems *Taskhīr-i-Fitrat* (Conquest of Nature) in *Payam-i-Mashriq* and *Mukalma-i-Jibrīl-o-Iblīs* (Conversation between Gabriel and Satan) in *Bal-i-Jibril*, bring out this idea very vividly.

In his *Lectures*, he has elucidated it in the following words:

"The modern man with his philosophies of criticism and scientific specialism finds himself in a strange predicament. His naturalism has given him an unprecedented control over the forces of Nature but has robbed him of faith in his own future . . . Wholly over-shadowed by the result of his intellectual activity, [he] has ceased to live soulfully, *i.e.*, from within. In the domain of thought, he is living in open conflict with himself, and in the domain of economic and political life he is living in open conflict with others. He finds himself unable to control his ruthless energy and infinite gold hunger which is gradually killing all higher striving in him and bringing him nothing but life-weariness." He sums up the modern man, equipped with Power but lacking in Vision, in these striking and beautiful verses:

عشق ناپید و خرد مے گزدش صورتِ مار — عقل کو تابعِ فرمانِ نظر کر نہ سکا
ڈھونڈنے والا ستاروں کی گذرگاہوں کا — اپنے افکار کی دُنیا میں سفر کر نہ سکا!
اپنی حکمت کے خم و پیچ میں اُلجھا ایسا — آجتک فیصلۂ نفع و ضرر کر نہ سکا!
جس نے سُورج کی شعاعوں کو گرفتار کیا — زندگی کی شبِ تاریک سحر کر نہ سکا!

Love is denied to him and Intellect bites him like a serpent,
He has failed to subordinate Intellect to Love !

He has succeeded in tracing the course of the stars
But failed to pick his way in the labyrinth of his own ideas !
He has got so entangled in the maze of his knowledge
That he cannot judge between profit and loss ;
He has ensnared the rays of the Sun,
But failed to light the dark night af his life ![1]

This ironical position makes him deeply concerned about the future of mankind and, in the preface to his last *masnavi* پس چه باید کرد اے اقوام شرق (What should the nations of the East do ?) he remarks :

سپاہِ تازہ برانگیزم از ولایتِ عشق — کہ در حرم خطرے از بغاوتِ خرد است
باآں مقام رسیدم چو در برش کردم — طوافِ بام و درِ من سعادتِ خرد است
گماں مبر کہ خرد را حساب و میزاں نیست — نگاہِ بندۂ مومن قیامتِ خرد است

I am raising a new army from the kingdom of Love
Because the *Haram* is threatened by the revolt of the intellect !
I have achieved such eminence
That Intellect is honoured by a pilgrimage to this shrine !
Do not imagine that Intellect has no reckoning ;
The eye of faith sits in relentless judgment on it ![2]

In response to my request to elucidate the relationship of knowledge, gained through Intellect, and that gained through Love or Intuition, Iqbal wrote to me as follews :

علم سے میری مراد وہ علم ہے جس کا دارومدار حواس پر ہے، عام طور پر میں نے علم کا لفظ
انہیں معنوں میں استعمال کیا ہے۔ اس علم سے ایک طبعی قوت ہاتھ آتی ہے جس کو دین

1. *Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 67.
2. *Pas Cheh Bayad Kard*, p. 4.

کے ماتحت رہنا چاہئے۔ اگر دین کے ماتحت نہ رہے۔ تو محض شیطنت ہے۔ یہ
علم علمِ حق کی ابتدا ہے، جیسا کہ میں نے جاوید نامہ میں لکھا ہے :-

علمِ حق اوّل حواس آخر حضور　　آخرِ او می نگنجد در شعور

وہ علم جو شعور میں نہیں سما سکتا اور جو علمِ حق کی آخری منزل ہے اِس کا دُوسرا نام
عشق ہے۔ علم و عشق کے تعلق میں جاوید نامے میں کئی اشعار ہیں :-

علم بے عشق است از طاغوتیاں　　علم با عشق است از لاہوتیاں

مسلمان کے لئے لازم ہے۔ کہ علم کو (یعنی اس علم کو جس کا مدار حواس پر ہے اور جس
سے بے پناہ قوّت پیدا ہوتی ہے) مسلمان کرے۔ "بولہب را حیدرِ کرار کُن"۔ اگر یہ
بولہب حیدر کرار بن جائے۔ یا یوں کہئے۔ کہ اگر اس کی قوّت دین کے تابع ہو جائے
تو نوعِ انسان کے لئے سراسر رحمت ہے۔

"I have generally used the word 'knowledge' in the sense of *knowledge based on the senses.* It gives man Power which should be subordinated to Religion. If it is not subordinated to religion, it is a Satanic force. This knowledge is the first step to true knowledge, as I have pointed out in *Javid Nama.*

" 'The knowledge of Truth is gained first through the senses and then through direct realization. Its ultimate stages cannot be encompassed within consciousness.'

"Knowledge, which cannot be circumscribed within consciousness and which is the final stage of Truth, is also called Love or Intuition.

" Intellect, divorced from Love, is a rebel (like Satan) while Intellect, wedded to Love, has divine attributes.'

"A Muslim should try to convert such Knowledge, which is based on senses and is the source of limitless power, to Islam, *i.e* , transform this (unbeliever), Bu Lahab, into (the perfect Momin), Ali. In other words, if the power of knowledge is inspired by religion, it is the greatest blessing for mankind."

It is this love, this intuitive perception by the heart, which gives meaning to life and makes the Intellect a source of blessing for mankind :

سوزِ سخن ز نالۂ مستانۂ دل است
این شمع را فروغ ز پروانۂ دل است

این تیرہ خاکداں کہ جہاں نام کردۂ
فرسودہ پیکرے ز صنم خانۂ دل است

The flame of poetry is kindled by the music of the heart,
The beauty of this candle is heightened by its mothlike homage !
This dark house of clay, which men call the world,
Is but a worn-out form from the temple of the heart ! [1]

He reverts to this theme over and over again in his poetry :

عقلے کہ جہاں سوزد، یک جلوۂ بیباکش
از عشق بیاموزد، آئینِ جہاں تابی

The Intellect, whose impetuous flame burns up the Universe,
Learns from Love the art of illumination ! [2]

بگذر از عقل و در آویز بموجِ یمِ عشق
کہ در آں جوئے تنک مایہ گہر پیدا نیست

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 25. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

Pass beyond Intellect and grapple with the waves in Love's ocean,
For, in Intellect's shallow rivulet there are no pearls ![1]

علم تا از عشق برخوردار نیست جز تماشاخانۂ افکار نیست

Till Intellect is blest by Love,
It is naught but a kaleidoscope of ideas ![2]

عقل و دل و نگاہ کا مرشدِ اوّلیں ہے عشق عشق نہ ہو تو شرع و دیں بتکدۂ تصورات

Love is the perceptor of the Intellect, the heart and the Vision,
If there is no Love, religion and its precepts
Are nothing but an idol-house of vain imaginings.[3]

By failing to bring about a union of the essentially complementary values of *Ilm* and *Ishq*, the East and the West have both suffered in different ways. The West has bartered away its soul in the process of conquering the world of matter ; the East has developed a pseudomystical way of thinking which has bred a false kind of renunciation in its peoples and reconciled them to ignorance, weakness and intellectual and political slavery. The hidden sources of active, spiritual energy have thus become walled up and life has been greatly impoverished in both :

شرق حق را دید و عالم را ندید غرب در عالم خزید، از حق رمید
چشم بر حق باز کردن بندگی است خویش را بے پردہ دیدن زندگی است

The East perceived God and failed to perceive the world
The West lost itself in the world and fled from God !
To open the eyes on God is worship !
To see oneself unveiled is life ![4]

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 203.
2. *Javid Nama*, p. 4.
3. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 4.
4. *Javid Nama*, p. 35.

Iqbal's contention is that whether we concentrate on "*Haq*" (God) and ignore "*Alam*" (world) or concentrate on the conquest of "*Alam*" and ignore "*Haq*" the result is equally disastrous. The two cannot be separated without doing damage to the fulness of life and the only way to gain both is through a fusion of Love and Intellect. When the cold, analytic Intellect is suffused by the warm, life-giving glow of Love, it becomes the greatest power for good, both in the life of the individual and of the community.

از محبت چوں خودی محکم شود قوتش فرماندہِ عالم شود

When self is fortified by Love
It becomes the law-giver to the world ![1]

In *Bal-i-Jibril* the same idea is expressed thus :

خودی ہو علم سے محکم تو غیرتِ جبریل اگر ہو عشق سے محکم تو صورِ اسرافیل!

When the self is fortified by Intellect,
It is the envy of *Gabriel* ;
If it is fortified by Love
It becomes the trumpet call of *Israfil*.[2]

Again :

علم را مقصود اگر باشد نظر می شود ہم جادہ و ہم راہبر
علمِ تفسیرِ جہانِ رنگ و بُو دیدہ و دل پرورش گیرد ازو
بر مقامِ جذب و شوق آرد ترا باز چوں جبریل بگذارد ترا!

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, p. 26. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

عشق کس را کے بخلوت می برد   او ز چشمِ خویش غیرت می برد!

اوّلِ او ہم رفیق و ہم طریق   آخرِ او راہ رفتن بے رفیق!

If Vision is the goal of the Intellect,
It becomes both the path and the guide!
Intellect elucidates this world of smell and colour,
It nurtures the eye and the emotions!
It brings you to the stage of absorption and ecstasy
And then, like Gabriel, leaves you alone!
Love never guides any one to solitude,
Its very perception of self acts as a screen!
In the early stages it yearns for fellow travellers,
Ultimately, it means travelling all alone.[1]

In the strengthening of Individuality which is the goal of life, as also of education, Love plays a powerful role:

نقطۂ نورے کہ نامِ او خودی است   زیرِ خاکِ ما شرارِ زندگی است

از محبت می شود پایندہ تر   زندہ تر سوزندہ تر تابندہ تر

کیمیا پیدا کن از مشتِ گلے   بوسہ زن بر آستانِ کاملے

عاشقی؟ محکم شو از تقلیدِ یار   تا کمندِ تو شود یزداں شکار

The luminous point whose name is the Self,
Is the life-spark beneath our dust!
By love it is made more lasting,
More living, more burning, more glowing!
Transmute thy handful of dust into gold,
Kiss the threshold of the Perfect Man!
Be constant in devotion to thy beloved,
That thou may cast thy noose and capture God![2]

1. *Javid Nama*, p. 122.

2. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 18, 19, 23.

Love brings about a concentration of powers and a heightening of their intensity and, in the case of great individuals, it may lead to a complete identification of the self with God's purpose. That is why great prophets and martyrs in the cause of Truth were able to transcend the limitations of ordinary mortals and achieve bewildering miracles :

می نداند عشق سال و ماہ را   دیر و زود و نزد و دور راہ را
عقل در کوہے شگافے می کند   یا بگرد اُو طوافے می کند
کوہ پیشِ عشق چوں کاہے بود   دل سریع السیر چوں ماہے بود
عشق شبخونے زدن بر لامکاں   گور را نادیدہ رفتن از جہاں!
عشق با نانِ جویں خیبر کشاد   عشق در اندامِ مہ چاکے نہاد
چوں خودی را از خدا طالب شود   جملہ عالم مرکب اُو راکب شود

Love knows not the months and the years,
Nor the slow or quick, nor the nearness or the distance of the path !
Intellect bores a hole through the mountain,
Or goes around it by circumlocution !
Love makes the mountain light as a blade of grass,
And the heart quick moving like the moon !
What is Love ? An attack on the Infinite !
Leaving the world without a glimpse of the grave !
Love, fed on barley, threw open Khaibar's heavy gate
And split the heart of the moon !
When it solicits selfhood from God,
It becomes the rider and the world its steed ![1]

1. *Javid Nama*, pp. 17-18.

In interpreting the inner significance of the martyrdom of Karbala, Iqbal points out how Husain, the grandson of the Prophet, inspired by the highest form of Love—love for God—showed superhuman courage and endurance and was able to overcome the insuperable forces of evil and untruth :

مومن از عشق است و عشق از مومن است   عشق را ناممکن ما ممکن است
عقل را سرمایه از بیم و شک است   عشق را عزم و یقین لاینفک است
آن کند تعمیر تا ویران کند   این کند ویران که آبادان کند
عقل گوید شاد شو آباد شو   عشق گوید بنده شو آزاد شو

Momin and Love are mutually interdependent
What is impossible to us is possible for Love!
The capital of the Intellect is apprehension and doubt,
Of Love, faith and resolution!
Intellect builds that it may destroy
Love destroys that it may rehabilitate!
Intellect says 'Live happy and content',
Love says 'Learn submission and achieve freedom.'[1]

In its highest manifestations, then, Love brings about an almost incredible concentration and intensification of human powers and enables mortals even to overcome death, *i.e.*, disintegration of self, and achieves immortality. This conquest of death by love is, for Iqbal, no mere metaphor but a profoundly important fact which education dare not ignore. His view, in this regard, is refreshingly original, differing fundamentally from the sceptical materialist, who scoffs at the very idea of immortality, and the believer who passively takes it for granted. In a letter to me he expressed this view emphati-

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 125-26.

cally in these memorable words: "If immortality is a fact, no educational system need bother about it. If it is an achievement open to the Ego, no educational system—if it does not aim at training pure intellect only—can afford to ignore it." He points out in his *Lectures* that, according to the Quran, it is open to man "to belong to the meaning of the Universe and become immortal." It is highly improbable, he argues, that a being whose evolution has taken millions of years should, after a brief span of time, be thrown away on the scrap heap as a thing of no use, but—and *this* is a thought-provoking remark—it is only an *ever growing Ego* that he can belong to the meaning of the Universe. Personal immortality, then, is not one's by right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it. The Ego must continue to struggle until he is able to gather himself up and win his resurrection. Thus it is the quality of our deeds which determines, from day to day, whether our Ego will become weaker and weaker and be ultimately disintegrated or become more and more strengthened and disciplined for a noble career. "The unceasing reward of man," to which the Quran refers, consists in his "gradual growth in self-expression, in uniqueness and intensity of his activity as an ego."[1] That is what gives to each action of ours an infinite significance, *i.e.*, it is *not* an ephemeral thing but matters profoundly to ourselves and to others how we react to, and perform, our daily work. This is a view which implies an essentially religious approach to life. In his *Javid Nama* he paints a vivid and stirring picture of the 'man of God' (بندۂ حق) who achieves immortality by his forceful, courageous and self-affirming ego activity in behalf of some great purpose:

زندگی محکم ز تسلیم و رضاست   موت نیرنج و طلسم و سیمیاست

1. *Lectures*, p. 111.

بندۂ حق ضیغم و آہوست مرگ   یک مقام از صد مقامِ اُوست مرگ!

می فتد بر مرگ آں مردِ تمام   مثلِ شاہینے کہ اُفتد بر حمام!

ہر زماں میرد غلام از بیمِ مرگ   زندگی اُو را حرام از بیمِ مرگ!

بندۂ آزاد را شانے دگر   مرگ اُو را می دہد جانے دگر!

اُو خود اندیش است مرگ اندیش نیست!   مرگِ آزاداں ز آنے بیش نیست!

بگذر از مرگے کہ سازد با لحد   زانکہ ایں مرگ است مرگِ دام و دد!

Life is strengthened by submission and willing obedience (to God),
Death is naught but an illusion and a mirage !
The man of God is a tiger and death is its prey,
Death is only a stage in its limitless career !
The 'perfect man' sweeps down on death
As the eagle sweeps down on the dove !
The slave dies many times from the fear of death,
Which makes life impossible for him !
The free man has a totally different outlook
Death only invests him with new life !
He is regardful of self, not apprehensive of death,
The death of the free is but for an instant !
Pass beyond the death that is reconciled to the grave,
For such death is the death of animals and beasts ![1]

It is this living nobly and dying nobly, in the cause of Truth and Humanity, that confers immortality on man—the immortality which Husain, the son of Ali, won on the battlefield of Karbala :

1. *Javid Nama*, p. 217.

مردِ مومن خواہد از یزدانِ پاک   آں دگر مرگے کہ برگیرد ز خاک!

آں دگر مرگ! انتہائے راہِ شوق   آخریں تکبیر در جنگاہِ شوق!

جنگِ شاہانِ جہاں غارت گری است   جنگِ مومن سنتِ پیغمبری است!

جنگِ مومن چیست؟ ہجرت سوئے دوست   ترکِ عالم، اختیارِ کوئے دوست!

گرچہ ہر مرگ است بر مومن شکر!   مرگِ پورِ مرتضیٰ چیزے دگر!

آنکہ حرفِ شوق با اقوام گفت   جنگ را رہبانیٔ اسلام گفت!

کس نداند جز شہید ایں نکتہ را   کو بخونِ خود خرید ایں نکتہ را

The *Momin* prays to God for the death
That is followed by resurrection !
That other death, the goal of the eager quest,
The last affirmation of God's greatness on the battle-field !
The wars of the kings are but loot and destruction
The war of the *Momin* is the tradition of the Prophet !
What is the *Momin's* war ? A migration towards the Beloved !
A withdrawal from the world to seek refuge with the Beloved !
Though all deaths are sweet for the *Momin*
The death of Ali's son is unique, indeed !
He, who spoke the word of Love to the nations,
Described war as the "asceticism of Islam" !
None but the martyr knows this Truth,
Who buys this knowledge with his own blood.[1]

1. *Javid Nama*, p. 218.

Thus, in the vision of life which Iqbal's poetry opens out before us, intellect, action and love are fused in an integral and dynamic unity which can even defeat the machinations of Death by making man's individuality indestructible. What a miserable contrast does our ordinary education provide to the education which this great vision postulates !

CHAPTER VII

THE EDUCATION OF THE GOOD CHARACTER

IT is necessary for every system of educational philosophy to define clearly the type of human being which it aims at producing, for the ethical value of any particular educational theory will depend ultimately on the quality and character of the individuals trained under its inspiration. In this chapter I propose to sketch briefly the portrait of the "good man" as it emerges from a study of Iqbal's writing—"the good man" as formed by the type of education foreshadowed in his philosophy. I have already referred to some of the qualities necessary for him in the preceding chapters ; we have now to build up a composite picture.

Firstly, the good life must be *a life of active effort and struggle*, not one of withdrawal or seclusion or slothful ease, for 'an hour of crowded glory' (in Iqbal's particular sense of the word 'glory') is 'worth a lifetime without a name.'

درسرائے ہست و بود آئی؟ میا — از عدم سوئے وجود آئی؟ میا

دربیائی چوں شرار از خود مرو — در تلاشِ خرمنے آوارہ شو!

تاب و تب داری اگر مانندِ مہر — پا بنہ در وسعت آبادِ سپہر!

سینہ داری اگر در خوردِ تیر — در جہاں شاہیں بزی شاہیں بمیر!

زندگی را چیست رسم و دین و کیش؟ — یک دمِ شیری بہ از صد سالِ میش!

Wouldst thou come into this transitory world ? Refrain !
Wouldst thou come from non-existence into existence ? Refrain ?

If thou dost, don't lose thyself like a spark,
But venture out in the quest of the granary !
If thou hast the lustre of the Sun,
Venture out into the expanse of the skies !
If thou hast a heart that can brave the arrow,
Live and die in the world like the eagle !
What do creeds, ceremonies and faiths avail in life ?
An instant of a lion's life
Is worth a hundred years of a rat's ![1]

This activity must not, however, run into routine patterns. It must be *creative and original*, for creativity is the most valuable and distinctive gift of man ; through it he has been able to transform this crude, unfinished world and fill it with what order and beauty it can claim :

دمبدم مشکل گر و آساں گذار   دمبدم نو آفرین و تازہ کار
خلعتے از آب و گل پیدا کند   دست و پا و چشم و دل پیدا کند

Life is ever welcoming the difficult, ever rejecting the easy,
Ever creating, ever achieving new things !
It weaves a garment out of water and clay
And creates the hands and feet, the eyes and the heart.[2]

He lives his daily life in active contact with his environment and dynamically reshapes it to suit his purposes. This active quality of the good character is brought out with great power in his *Secrets of the Self*, when Iqbal discusses 'the inner meanings of the names of Ali'. These lines have great relevance for the whole question of the development of individuality and the qualities that invest it with real value and they would, therefore, bear reproduction :

1. *Javid Nama*, pp. 216-17.
2. *Ibid.*

هر کہ در آفاق گردد بُوتراب   باز گرداند ز مغرب آفتاب
از خودِ آگاہی یداللّٰہی کند   از یداللّٰہی شہنشاہی کند
حکمراں باید شدن بر خاکِ خویش   تا مئے روشن خوری از تاکِ خویش
سنگ شو اے ہمچو گُل نازک بدن   تا شوی بنیادِ دیوارِ چمن
از گِلِ خود آدمے تعمیر کن   آدمے را عالمے تعمیر کُن
گر بنا سازی نہ دیوار و درے   خشت از خاکِ تو بندد دیگرے

خیز و خلّاقِ جہانِ تازہ شو   شعلہ در بر کن خلیلؑ آوازہ شو

با جہانِ نامساعد ساختن   ہست در میداں سپر انداختن

مردِ خود دارے کہ باشد پختہ کار   با مزاجِ اُو بسازد روزگار
گر نہ سازد با مزاجِ اُو جہاں   می شود جنگ آزما با آسماں
می کند از قوّتِ خود آشکار   روزگارِ نو کہ باشد سازگار
در جہاں نتواں اگر مردانہ زیست   ہمچو مرداں جاں سپردن زندگیست
زندگانی قوّتِ پیداستے   اصلِ اُو از ذوقِ استیلاستے

زندگی کشت است و حاصل قوّت است   شرح رمزِ حق و باطل قوّت است
اے ز آدابِ امانت بے خبر!   از دو عالم خویش را بہتر شمر!

Whosoever in the world becomes a Bu Turab
Brings back the sun from the west !
Through self-knowledge he acts like the hand of God,
And in virtue of being God's Hand he reigns over all !
If thou wouldst drink sparkling wine from thine own grapes,
Learn to wield authority over thine own clay ;
Thou art soft as a rose—become hard as a stone,
That thou mayst be the foundation of the garden wall !
Build thy clay into a Man,
Build thy Man into a World !
If thou wilt not build thine own habitation,
Others will make bricks of the clay.
Arise and create a new world !
Wrap thyself in flames, be an Abraham !
To conform meekly to this unfavourable world
Is to fling away thy buckler on the field of battle !
The man of strong character who is master of himself
Will find fortune complaisant !
If the world does not comply with his humour,
He will try the hazard of war with Heaven !
By his own strength he will produce
A new world which will do his pleasure !
If one cannot live in the world as beseems a man,
Then it is better to die like the brave !
Life has only one law,
Life is power made manifest,
And its mainspring is the passion for victory !
Life is the seed and power the crop :
Power explains the mystery of truth and falsehood !
O thou that art heedless of the trust committed to thee,
Esteem thyself superior to both worlds ![1]

What an exalted and inspiring conception of the role of man ! How radically does it differ from the pusillanimity and the

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 53-57.

cramped vision that characterize our educational system, subordinating it to a narrow and uninspiring vocational aim ! In the following words of *Baba-i-Sahrai*, Iqbal exhorts the Muslims of India to strengthen their Ego, abandon their dependence on others and achieve a respected and self-respecting individuality.

تو کہ از نورِ خودی تابندۂ گر خودی محکم کنی پایندۂ
چون خبر دارم ز سازِ زندگی با تو گویم چیست رازِ زندگی
غوطہ در خود صورتِ گوہر زدن پس ز خلوت گاہِ خود سر بر زدن
زندگی از طوفِ دیگر رستن است خویش را بیت الحرم دانستن است

Glowing with the light of self as thou art
Make self strong and thou wilt endure !
Since I am acquainted with the harmony of Life
I will tell thee what is the secret of Life—
To sink into thyself like the pearl,
Then to emerge from thine inward solitude !
What is life but to be freed from moving round others
And to regard thyself as the Holy Temple ?[1]

Secondly, the 'good man' must learn to apply his intelligence increasingly to the exploitation of the forces of Nature, thereby adding to his knowledge and power. Without the fullest development of his intellect, he will remain at the mercy of the forces which surround him and his activity will be limited and inconsequential.

ہر خاکی و نوری پہ حکومت ہے خرد کی باہر نہیں کچھ عقلِ خداداد کی زد سے

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 73-74.

عالم ہے غلام اس کے جلال ازلی کا   اک دل ہے کہ ہر لحظہ الجھتا ہے خرد سے

Intellect reigns over all beings of clay and light
Nothing is beyond the reach of the God-given mind !
The entire world bows to its eternal glory,
The heart alone challenges its sway at every step ![1]

The last line gives a clue to the spirit in which intellect is to be used as an instrument in the service of action. Intellect does confer power on us but, as we have seen, this power can be utilized constructively for the good of humanity only if it is guided and controlled by Love. This Love, however, is not a mere vague humanitarian sentiment ; it is an active force which gives an explosive quality to individuality if it is pressed into the service of worthy ends. It links man with his Maker in a co-operative endeavour for perfection. The real motive force in the conduct of the true Believer is that, in religious phraseology, he "lives his life in the name of the Lord", dedicating all his powers to the working out of His increasing purpose on earth, thus qualifying himself for the position of 'God's vicegerent', Iqbal gives a vivid description of this perfect individual, who has identified his will with the Divine Purpose.

تابع حق دیدنش نادیدنش   خوردنش نوشیدنش خوابیدنش

قرب حق از ہر عمل مقصود دار   تا ز تو گردد جلالش آشکار

صلح شر گردد چو مقصود است غیر   گر خدا باشد غرض جنگ است خیر

ہر کہ خنجر بہر غیر اللہ کشید   تیغ او در سینۂ او آرمید

1. *Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 34.

He subordinates everything to God:
His seeing and not seeing, his eating and drinking and sleeping!
In all thy actions let thy aim be to draw nigh to God,
That His Glory may be made manifest by thee!
Peace becomes an evil if its object is aught else,
War is good if its object is God!
Whoso draws the sword for anything except God,
Finds it sheathed in his own breast.[1]

But this 'fighting' in the name of the Lord is not necessarily fighting in the physical sense; in fact, it is so only in extreme cases of defence against aggression and injustice. It is, more correctly, a struggle in every possible way, to bring about a reign of peace, justice and humanity in individual and collective conduct and often it takes the form of striving against one's own lower nature. This, according to Islam, is *Jihad* in the true sense:

مردِ مومن زندہ و باخود بجنگ　　بر خود افتد ہمچو بر آہو پلنگ

The *Momin* is alive and at war with himself
He sweeps down on himself as the wolf on the deer![2]

With this high ideal before him, man sets out on the arduous course of self-affirmation, self-realization and self-development, lives a life of strenuous activity and thereby evolves his inner strength and richness. The development of the inner resources of his individuality enables him to rise to undreamt of heights, when he becomes the architect of his destiny and a co-worker with God in His plan.

خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے!

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 70-72.　　2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Exalt thy ego so high that God Himself will consult
Thee before determining thy destiny.[1]

To achieve this position, it is essential that man should rate himself high, contemptuously refusing to make compromises with evil and falsehood or to bow down before any unjust earthly power. This challenging call to man's self-respect runs throughout Iqbal's writings:

خودی را مردم آمیزی دلیلِ نارسائی ہا
تو اے دردآشنا بیگانہ شو از آشنائی ہا
بدرگاہِ سلاطین تا کجا این چہرہ سائی ہا
بیاموز از خدائے خویش نازِ کبریائی ہا
محبّت از جوانمردی بجائے می رسد روزے
کہ اُفتد از نگاہش کار و بارِ دلربائی ہا

Subservience to others is a proof of the self's immaturity!
Rise superior to such leaning, O bearer of the cross!
How long wilt thou bow at the court of kings?
Learn from thy God the joy of self-respect!
Love, inspired with courage, will one day attain its goal,
And the business of coquetry will have lost its hold![2]

Thus, equipped with a concentrated and fully developed individuality, with his faith not in the idols of gold or in machines of iron but in himself and his God, man becomes an irresis-

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 81.

2. *Zabur-i-Ajam*, pp. 174-75.

tible power for good, sharing in the creative activity of his Maker:

بندۂ حق بندۂ اسباب نیست　　زندگانی گردشِ دولاب نیست

مسلم استی بے نیاز از غیر شو　　اہلِ عالم را سراپا خیر شو

رزقِ خود را از کفِ دونان مگیر　　یوسف استی خویش را ارزاں مگیر

"پشتِ پا زن تختِ کیکاؤس را　　سر بدہ از کف مدہ ناموس را"

فرد فرد آمد کہ خود را شناخت -　　قوم قوم آمد کہ جز با خود نساخت

از پیام مصطفیٰ آگاہ شو　　فارغ از ارباب دون اللہ شو

The man of God is not dependent on circumstances;
Life is not a swing of the pendulum!
If you are a Muslim, learn to be independent
Be a blessing for all the peoples of the Earth!
Depend not for your livelihood on the charity of the low-minded
You are like Joseph; do not hold yourself cheap!
'Spurn contemptuously the empire of Caius,
Stake your head but do not sacrifice honour.'!
That man alone is unique who learns to know himself,
That nation is truly a nation which does not compromise!
Learn the inner meaning of Muhammad's message,
Rid yourself of all deities but God.[1]

In order to develop such a character, which has both sensitiveness and strength—sensitiveness to the good of humanity and to ideal values, strength in carrying out one's purposes—there are three qualities which education, as envisaged by

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 183-88.

Iqbal, should sedulously cultivate : Courage, Tolerance, and *Faqr*. Let us examine their import and implications for the training of character.

Iqbal believes that the cultivation of an attitude of courage is essential for the proper education of character. This education should be so planned as to eradicate all influences which tend to produce an attitude of Fear. He considers Fear to be one of the most degrading and inhibitory of emotions. Just as Love strengthens the Self, Fear, which is the negation of Love, weakens it and becomes the source of all kinds of corruption in the individual's character. The fear of the Lord, it has been rightly held, is the beginning of wisdom. But it is equally certain that every other kind of fear undermines the joy of life, weakens the capacity for action, and, when greatly accentuated, inhibits it altogether. It is the parent of all the vices characteristic of the weak : deceit, hypocrisy, meanness, cowardice, flattery. Listen to Iqbal's uncompromising denunciation of Fear as a motive force in the pattern of life :

لابہ و مکّاری و کین و دروغ   این ہمہ از خوف می گیرد فروغ
ہر شرِ پنہاں کہ اندر قلبِ تُست   اصلِ اُو بیم است اگر بینی درُست

Flattery, treachery, cunning and spite
Are all nurtured in the bosom of fear ;
Every hidden evil, nestling in your heart,
Is the product of fear if you will rightly regard. [1]

Modern psychology as well as experience, have also revealed the significant fact that even those manifestations which, on the surface, appear to be a parade of brute strength—*e.g.*, bullying tyranny, display of military force—are, in reality, veiled and distorted expressions of fear. The exploitation of the weak by the strong, the suppression of new ideas, unjust legislation to protect the ill-gotten gains and privileges of the

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, p. 110.

rich and the powerful, the armament race amongst the nations of the world—these and many other kindred phenomena of contemporary life really show that our entire civilization is dominated by fear and jealousy, which is fear's inevitable companion. Thus it is that fear undermines the character of the weak as well as the strong.

Courage can be cultivated as an attribute of character by making *Tawhid* (monotheism) an active working principle of conduct. This, according to Iqbal, implies a rejection of all fears except the fear of God, a surrender of our will and purposes to His increasing purpose, and an attitude of manly defiance towards all other powers which may threaten to arrest our freedom of thought and development and the exercise of our legitimate human rights. His exhortation to our fear-dominated generation is :

عشق را آتش زنِ اندیشہ کن　　　روبہِ حق باش و شیری پیشہ کن

خوفِ حق عنوانِ ایمان است و بس　　　خوفِ غیر از شرکِ پنہان است و بس

فارغ از اندیشۂ اغیار شو　　　قوّتِ خوابیدۂ بیدار شو

Let love burn away all fear,
Fear only God and live like the lion !
The fear of God is the beginning of faith
The fear of others is veiled idolatry !
Relieve yourself of the fears of others,
You are a power asleep ; shake yourself awake [1]

In his *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* Iqbal has discussed at some length how fear, despair and cowardice are the source of most evils including the slowing down of the tempo of life, and how the doctrine of *Tawhid*, translated into practice, is an effective remedy against them.

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, p. 114.

ای که در زندانِ غم باشی اسیر   از نبی تعلیمِ لا تحزن بگیر
گر خدا داری ز غم آزاد شو   از خیالِ بیش و کم آزاد شو
بیمِ غیر الله عمل را دشمن است   کاروانِ زندگی را رهزن است
تخمِ او چون در گلت خود را نشاند   زندگی از خودنمائی باز ماند
هر که رمزِ مصطفیٰ فهمیده است   شرک را در خوف مضمر دیده است

Locked in the prison-house of fear that you are
Learn from the Prophet the precept "Fear not"!
If you believe in God, free yourself from all fear,
And all apprehension of profit and loss!
All fear, except God's, inhibits action,
It is a dacoit that waylays the caravan of life!
When its seed is planted on your soil,
Life is denied self-expression!
Whosoever has understood the teaching of Muhammad
Has seen idolatry lurking in the bosom of fear.[1]

"The essence of *Tawhid* as a working idea," Iqbal explains, "is equality, solidarity and freedom," and when it becomes the guiding principle of conduct, it transforms miraculously the character and life of individuals and gives them a new sense of courage and self-respect. Addressing the new generation of youth, he asks them to realize the practical implications of this doctrine for character:

طرحِ تعمیرِ تو از گل ریختند   با محبّت خوف را آمیختند

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 109-11.

خوفِ دنیا خوفِ عقبیٰ خوفِ جاں   خوفِ آلامِ زمین و آسماں
حُبِّ مال و دولت و حُبِّ وطن   حُبِّ خویش و اقربا و حُبِّ زن
تا عصائے لا اِلٰہ داری بدست   ہر طلسمِ خوف را خواہی شکست
ہر کہ حق باشد چو جاں اندر تنش   خم نگردد پیشِ باطل گردنش
خوف را در سینۂ اُو راہ نیست   خاطرش مرعوبِ غیر اللہ نیست

When they moulded thee of clay,
Love and fear were mingled in thy making :
Fear of this world and of the world to come, fear of death,
Fear of all the pains of earth and heaven,
Love of riches and power, love of country,
Love of self and kindred and wife.
So long as thou hold'st the staff of *La Ilah*
Thou wilt break every spell of fear !
One to whom God is as the soul in his body,
Does not bow his head before untruth.[1]

It does not require any extraordinary imagination or insight to perceive that the whole of our social life and our education are dominated by fear and devotion to false ideals. The children, in their earliest infancy, are terrified at home by ignorant mothers and nurses and grow up timid and apprehensive, not only of authority but of imaginary ghosts and demons with whom they people every dark nook and corner of their home. At school, the sensitive, growing child often passes through a veritable reign of terror, afraid of his teachers and of the irrational public opinion of his fellows who are generally impatient of newness and originality and often impose all kinds of silly, unnecessary taboos on their fellows who happen

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, p. 47.

to be out of the common run. In the College and the University, where these cruder forms of fear do not prevail, youth is often under the tyranny of repressed emotional conflicts which embitter his sensitive nature and check the freedom of self-expression—conflicts that the teachers have generally neither the sympathy nor the imagination to resolve. Add to this that, in the name of religion and politics and social conventions, the right of free criticism and of forming independent judgment on some of the most vital issues and problems is denied to them in the interest of an unjust *status quo*, and they are taught not only to respect, but to be afraid of, every kind of constituted authority. Is it any wonder, then, that generations of our youth have had their character and outlook warped? They have been growing up with cramped natures, lacking initiative, courage and self-reliance. They are limited in their sympathies, narrow in their loyalties, and timid in the formation of their purposes. They are often fanatical, for tolerance and generosity can only develop when the Self is courageous and strong. It is Love, in the sense in which Iqbal has used the word, which "casteth out fear" and, releasing its potential capacity for great needs, gives an explosive and dynamic quality to individuality.

جب عشق سکھاتا ہے آدابِ خود آگاہی   کھلتے ہیں غلاموں پر اسرارِ شہنشاہی

دارا و سکندر سے وہ مردِ فقیر اولیٰ   ہو جس کی فقیری میں بوئے اسد اللّٰہی

آئینِ جواں مرداں حق گوئی و بیباکی   اللہ کے شیروں کو آتی نہیں روباہی

When Love teaches the ways of self-respect,
The secrets of domination are revealed to the slaves!
The *Faqir* whose *Faqr* savours of the *Faqr* of Ali
Is superior to Darius and Alexander!
Courage and Truth are the attributes of the brave,
The lions of Allah do not know fear![1]

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, pp. 82-83.

Contrast the timidity and repression of our educational ideology and practice with this attitude and Iqbal's counsel of living dangerously :

سرّ ایں فرمانِ حق دانی کہ چیست   زیستن اندر خطرہا زندگیست

Do you know the inner meaning of God's Command :
"The secret of a joyous life is to live dangerously."[1]

This attitude is a standing impeachment of those who would prostitute education—or political policy for that matter—to the securing of soft jobs, who would be willing to sell their souls for a mess of pottage, whose highest ambition is to steal their way into a life of inglorious ease and servitude. He seems consciously to have such people, traitors to the spirit of Islam, in his mind when he points out :

مردِ درویش کا سرمایہ ہے آزادی و مرگ!
ہے کسی اور کی خاطر یہ نصابِ زر و سیم

Freedom and Death are the wealth of the *Faqir*
All these measures of silver and gold are meant for others ![2]

He warns youth, with its courageous idealism, to shun their example :

اے طائرِ لاہوتی اس رزق سے موت اچھی
جس رزق سے آتی ہو پرواز میں کوتاہی!

O high soaring bird, death is preferable to the livelihood
Which clips thy wings and arrests thy flight.[3]

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, p. 147.
2. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 89.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

The second quality which Iqbal considers to be an essential constituent of the good character is Tolerance. Iqbal has sometimes been maligned by ill-informed critics for intolerance and, therefore, the emphatic advocacy of this quality by him may cause them surprise. But really there is nothing surprising in it, for true Tolerance must find a place in any pattern of thought which lays stress on individuality. If individuality is to be developed to its fullest extent in all members of a community, intolerance will be suicidal, as it will lead to perpetual conflict and clashes and thus arrest the desired development. "The principle of the ego sustaining deed", he remarks, "is respect for the Ego in myself *as well as in others*", which clearly implies that, unless education strengthens in us a sense of respect for *others*' individuality—*their* opinions and beliefs, *their* thought and behaviour, *their* differences with us—our own will remain warped, distorted, incomplete. In his *Bal-i-Jibril*, he gives a vivid expression to his respect for truth and love for mankind, instead of attachment to narrow sectarian loyalties and doctrines :

درویشِ خدا مست نہ شرقی ہے نہ غربی　　گھر میرا نہ دلّی نہ صفاہاں نہ سمرقند!
کہتا ہوں وہی بات سمجھتا ہوں جسے حق　　نے ابلۂ مسجد ہوں نہ تہذیب کا فرزند
اپنے بھی خفا مجھ سے ہیں بیگانے بھی ناخوش　　میں زہرِ ہلاہل کو کبھی کہہ نہ سکا قند!
مشکل ہے کہ اک بندۂ حق بین و حق اندیش　　خاشاک کے تودے کو کہے کوہِ دماوند!

The God-intoxicated Faqir is neither of the East nor of the West,
I belong neither to Delhi nor Isfahan nor Samarkand:
I speak out what I consider to be the truth
I am befooled neither by the mosque nor by the modern civilization;
Friends and strangers are both displeased with me,

For I cannot confuse deadly poison with sugar !
How can a man who sees and understands truth
Confuse a mound of earth with Mount Damavand ? [1]

But it must be clearly realized that this tolerance, which Iqbal preaches, is very different from the pseudo-tolerance of the man without strong convictions, which is become quite common in this age and is the result of an attitude of general scepticism and indifference, of not caring sincerely and passionately enough about any values or beliefs or ideals. Iqbal's tolerance is born of strength, not of weakness ; it is the tolerance of a man of strong faith who has fervently cherished convictions of his own, but, on that very account, realizes that respect is due to those of others. In this sense Iqbal considers tolerance to be the basis of true humanism and the genuine religious spirit :

دیں سراپا سوختن اندر طلب — انتہایش عشق و آغازش ادب!
حرفِ بد را بر لب آوردن خطاست — کافر و مومن ہمہ خلقِ خداست!
آدمیت احترامِ آدمی — باخبر شو از مقامِ آدمی!
بندۂ عشق از خدا گیرد طریق — می شود بر کافر و مومن شفیق!
کفر و دیں را گیر در پہنائے دل — دل اگر بگریزد از دل، وائے دل!
گرچہ دل زندانیٔ آب و گِل است — ایں ہمہ آفاق آفاقِ دل است!

Religion is a constant yearning for perfection,
It begins in reverence and ends in Love ;
It is a sin to utter harsh words
For the believer and the unbeliever are alike children of God,
What is *Admiyat ?* Respect for man !

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, pp. 34-35.

Learn to appreciate the true worth of man ;
The man of Love learns the ways of God
And is benevolent alike to the believer and the unbeliever ;
Welcome faith and unfaith alike to the heart !
If the heart flees from the heart, woe betide the heart ?
The heart is, no doubt, shut in this prison-house of clay,
But the entire Universe is the domain of the heart ! [1]

What an inspiring gospel of tolerance do these lines preach !

The third quality, that of *Faqr* or *Istighna*, has come in for great stress in the later writings of Iqbal. It is difficult to render it into English satisfactorily because there is no one word which could convey its full and precise significance. Its underlying idea has been long familiar to the East, but it is somewhat alien to modern thought in the West. What is this *Faqr* ? We have seen that Iqbal rejects the attitude of renunciation, which he attributes to the influences of neo-Platonism and pseudo-mysticism, and advocates an active way of life which would lead men to the conquest of the world of matter. But, while advocating this, he is keenly conscious of the fact that the highest aspirations of man are apt to become stifled by the weight of his material possessions, and riches often arrest the growth and expansion of the spirit.

اب ترا دور بھی آنے کو ہے اے فقرِ غیور   کھا گئی رُوحِ فرنگی کو ہوائے زر و سیم!

The self-respecting *Faqr* will soon have its day,
The greed for gold and silver has corrupted the soul of the West. [2]

He is, therefore, anxious that, while man is engaged in the conquest of his world, he should retain an inner attitude of detachment and superiority to his material possession—*this is Faqr* in the real sense—for only then can he guard himself against becoming a slave to them and use them for the expan-

1. *Javid Nama*, pp. 241-42. 2. *Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 24.

sion, instead of the impoverishment, of his spiritual life and for the service, instead of the exploitation, of his fellowmen. It is a kind of intellectual and emotional asceticism which does not turn away from the world as a source of evil and corruption but uses it for the pursuit of good and worthy ends. It makes the good man a crusader of the spirit, as it were, who wields his *Faqr* as a shield against becoming contaminated by the corruptions and temptations which beset him at every step :

خدا کے پاک بندوں کو حکومت میں غلامی میں
زرہ کوئی اگر محفوظ رکھتی ہے تو استغنا !

In power, as in subjection, *Faqr* is the shield
That protects the pure-hearted.[1]

In power, it saves him from an attitude of arrogance and self-intoxication ; in political subjection, it enables him to spurn the temptations, bribes and snares with which the ruling power tries cynically to corrupt the integrity and character of a subject people. Iqbal further defines this *Faqr* by contrasting it with the renunciation, preached by some religions, which implies an attitude of escape or withdrawal ;

کمالِ ترک نہیں آب و گِل سے مہجوری ۔۔۔ کمالِ ترک ہے تسخیرِ خاکی و نوری !
میں ایسے فقر سے اے اہلِ حلقہ باز آیا ۔۔۔ تمہارا فقر ہے بے دولتی و رنجوری
نہ فقر کے لئے موزوں نہ سلطنت کیلئے ۔۔۔ وہ قوم جس نے گنوایا متاعِ تیموری

The withdrawal from the world of matter
Is not the end of true renunciation ;
It means the conquest of the earth and the heavens !
I wash my hands of the ascetic's *Faqr*
Which is nought but poverty and grieving !

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 38.

The nation that has lost the wealth of Taimur's courage
Can neither cultivate *Faqr* nor win an empire ![1]

This true *Faqr*—of which the history of Islam provides many remarkable examples—is very different from the false *Faqr*, born of weakness, resignation and lack of initiative :

اِک فقر سِکھاتا ہے صیّاد کو نخچیری! اِک فقر سے کُھلتے ہیں اسرارِ جہانگیری!
اِک فقر سے قوموں میں مسکینی و دلگیری! اِک فقر سے مٹّی میں خاصیّتِ اکسیری!
اِک فقر ہے شبّیری اس فقر میں ہے میری! میراثِ مُسلمانی سرمایۂ شبّیری!

There is a *Faqr* which only teaches cunning to the hunter,
There is a *Faqr* which shows how man can conquer the world!
There is a *Faqr* which makes nations humble and depressed,
There is a *Faqr* which endows the dust with the attributes of gold !

There is a *Faqr*, taught by Husain,
Which is the source of spiritual wealth ;
This wealth of Husain is the heritage of the Muslim.[2]

Hence also Iqbal's contention :

دارا و سکندر سے وہ مردِ فقیر اَولیٰ ہو جس کی فقیری میں بُوئے اسداللّٰہی!

Superior is that *faqir* to Darius and Alexander
Whose *faqr* is imbued with the spirit of Ali !

This *Faqr*, then instead of being in the nature of a renunciation by the weak, becomes a source of incorruptible idealism and effort in the strong, who learn to spurn luxury and temptation and refuse to be caught up in their snare. It gives the right intellectual and emotional tone to individuality !

عِلم کا مقصُود ہے پاکیٔ عقل و خرد فقر کا مقصُود ہے عفّتِ قلب و نگاہ
چڑھتی ہے جب فقر کی سان پہ تیغِ خُودی ایک سپاہی کی ضرب کرتی ہے کارِ سپاہ!

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 64.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

The objective of knowledge is the purity of the intellect,
The objective of *Faqr* is the purity of the heart and the vision!
When the sword of the self is sharpened on the whetstone of *Faqr*,
The stroke of a single soldier acquires the might of an army.[1]

It should not, therefore, be interpreted as a cowardly compensation for the poor, who are deprived of their rights and too weak to enforce their claims—for them, Iqbal points to the injunction of the Quran: "And do not forget thy share in the world"—but as a saving grace in the rich and the powerful who must specially guard against the moral corruption which wealth and power bring in their train!

گرچہ باشی از خداوندانِ دِہ   فقر را از کف مدہ، از کف مدہ
اے بسا مردِ حق اندیش و بصیر   می شود از کثرتِ نعمت ضریر!
کثرتِ نعمت گداز از دل برد   ناز می آرد نیاز از دل برد!

Even if you belong to the lords of the earth,
Do not forego the grace of *Faqr*!
Many a man who understands truth and has vision
Becomes corrupted by an excess of riches!
This excess steals compassion from the heart
And substitutes pride for humility![2]

The significance of this exhortation will be better appreciated when we reflect that all great and worthy achievements in History have been due to individuals or groups inspired by this ideal of *Faqr* who sought their satisfaction, not in the accretion of material possessions for themselves but in the selfless service of some great purpose, and who imposed a life of voluntary poverty and self-denial on themselves. In the history of great religious leaders of ancient times as in that of great political movements of today, we find this principle

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 110.   2. *Javid Nama*, p. 242.

consistently operative. Our education, on the contrary, tends consciously or unconsciously, to instil in the minds of the youth an attitude of selfishness and to substitute for its natural idealism a mean desire to fight for petty jobs and secure them at the cost of everything else, however precious. When, in this mad struggle, a few manage to gain high offices or a little of the riches of the world, many of them lose their humanity in the process and the spirit in them turns into stone. Hence Iqbal's indictment of the 'classes':

خیر و خوبی بر خواص آمد حرام　　دیده ام صدق و صفا را در عوام!

The 'classes' are bereft of virtue and large-heartedness;
Amongst the masses I have often found truth and sincerity.[1]

He exhorts the growing generation of our youth to build a fuller and worthier life for themselves in which high idealism, undaunted courage, a sense of justice and an attitude of *Faqr* find their proper expression:

شیوهٔ اخلاص را محکم بگیر　　پاک شو از خوفِ سُلطان و امیر
عدل در قهر و رضا از کف مده　　قصد در فقر و غنا از کف مده
حاکمی در عالمِ بالا و پست　　جز بحفظِ جان و تن ناید بدست
زندگی جز لذّتِ پرواز نیست　　آشیاں با فطرتِ اُو ساز نیست
در رہِ دیں سخت چوں الماس زی　　دِل بحق بربند و بے وسواس زی!

Hold fast to the ways of Truth,
Rid thyself of the fear of kings and nobles!
Do not forsake justice in anger or in joy
In poverty or in affluence!

1. *Javid Nama*, p. 243.

Power is not achieved in this world or the next,
Except through the discipline of the body and the mind!
Life is nought but the joy of soaring,
The nest is not congenial to its nature!
Live, firm as the diamond, in the service of religion,
Centre the heart on God and live without fear![1]

We are now in a position to sum up, in eductional terms, the character of the good man—the true Believer, the *Momin*—as visualized by Iqbal. He is a man who develops all his powers and strengthens his individuality through active contact with his material and cultural environment. This strong, concentrated individuality, sharpened and steeled through a life of active experience, is to be dedicated to the service of the Lord in whose name he is out to conquer the world. But, when the world lies conquered at his feet, he is strong enough to stand aloof from, and superior to, the well-nigh irresistible temptations which weaken man's moral fibre. His self-respect gives him courage and adventurousness; his tolerance and respect for the rights and personality of others make him sensitive to the claims which their common humanity makes on him. In the pursuit of his ideals he is strong enough to defy with contempt the vested interests and forces which stand in the way of their realization. This is how Iqbal himself sketches the portrait of the true *Momin*:

ہاتھ ہے اللہ کا بندۂ مومن کا ہاتھ — غالب و کار آفریں کارکشا کارساز
خاکی و نوری نہاد بندۂ مولا صفات — ہر دو جہاں سے غنی اس کا دل بے نیاز
اس کی امیدیں قلیل اسکے مقاصد جلیل — اس کی ادا دلفریب اس کی نگہ دلنواز
نرم دمِ گفتگو گرم دمِ جستجو — رزم ہو یا بزم ہو پاک دل و پاکباز

1. *Javid Nama*. pp. 239-40.

The hand of the *Momin* is the hand of Allah—
Dominant, resourceful, creative, efficient!
Born of clay, he has the nature of light—
A creature with the attributes of the Creator!
His heart is indifferent to the riches of the two worlds!
His desires are few, but his purposes are great!
His ways are graceful, his glance fascinating!
He is soft of speech but warm in his quest,
In war as in peace his heart and mind are pure.[1]

And in another poem he sums up this character more epigrammatically:

پیشِ باطل تیغ و پیشِ حق سپر ۔۔۔ امر و نہیِ اُو عیارِ خیر و شر
عفو و عدل و بذل و احسانش عظیم ۔۔۔ ہم بقہر اندر مزاجِ اُو کریم

He is a flashing sword against untruth,
And a protecting shield for truth!
His affirmation and negation
Are the criteria for Good and Evil!
Great is his forgiveness, his justice, his generosity and his grace,
Even in anger he knows how to be kind!

So emphatic is his insistence on these qualities that, for him, the real difference between a *Momin* (the true believer) and a *kafiir* (the unbeliever) is not a narrow theological difference but one of fundamental attitude towards life—namely, whether he does, or does not, develop all his capacities and use them for the conquest and the remaking of the world in the name of the Lord:

کافر ہے مسلماں تو نہ شاہی نہ فقیری ۔۔۔ مومن ہے تو کرتا ہے فقیری میں بھی شاہی
کافر ہے تو شمشیر پہ کرتا ہے بھروسا ۔۔۔ مومن ہے تو بے تیغ بھی لڑتا ہے سپاہی
کافر ہے تو ہے تابعِ تقدیر مسلماں ۔۔۔ مومن ہے تو وہ آپ ہے تقدیرِ الٰہی!

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 132.

If the Muslim is an unbeliever,
He can neither be a king nor a Faqir!
If he is a true believer,
Even as a Faqir he acts like a king!
If the soldier is without faith,
He relies on the sword!
If he is endowed with faith
He can fight without armour!
If the Muslim is without faith,
He is a slave to destiny!
Endowed with faith,
He becomes the destiny of Allah![1]

He expresses another aspect of this difference in these memorable words:

کافر کی یہ پہچان کہ آفاق میں گم ہے
مومن کی یہ پہچان کہ گم اس میں ہیں آفاق!

The unbeliever loses himself in the Universe
While the Universe itself is lost in the *Momin*![2]

In the *Javid Nama*, towards the very end of the book, is heard the *Nida-i-Jamal* (the call of God to man) inviting him to the Good Life which demands simultaneously the full realization and appreciation of the Self and its dedication to the service of mankind:

بگذر از خاور و افسونیٔ افرنگ مشو
کہ نیرزد بجوے ایں ہمہ دیرینہ و نو

آں نگینے کہ تو با اہرمناں باختۂ
ہم بجبریلِ امینے نتواں کرد گرو!

زندگی انجمن آرا و نگہدارِ خود است
اے کہ در قافلہ، بے ہمہ شو با ہمہ رو!

تو فروزندہ تر از مہرِ منیر آمدہ
آنچناں زی کہ بہر ذرّہ رسانی پرتو

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 55.
2. *Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 39.

Pass beyond the East and resist the spell of the West,
All this old and new is not worth a barley-grain!
The jewel, that thou hast bartered to the people of darkness,
Is too precious to be entrusted even to Gabriel!
Life is self-regarding and creates its own assembly,
Traveller with the caravan, go with all, be independent of all!

Thou art brighter than the bright moon:
Live so that every particle may receive thy illumination.[1]

An important question may at this stage occur to all careful students of Iqbal's thought: Can this ideal of human character be achieved? Can we expect frail humanity, whose spirit is often unwilling and flesh almost always weak, to rise to the heights of selfless achievement and the nobility of character which Iqbal prescribes and predicts for it?

Let us consider this pertinent issue briefly. Obviously it is not possible to give any logically convincing or scientifically demonstrable proof in support of any position one may take up in this respect. It would depend ultimately on one's faith about the possibilities of human nature and one's interpretation of the tendencies that have been at work in the course of human evolution. In dealing with this question, we must remember that an ideal is always a finger-post; it points the *direction* of our activity and measures the worth of our achievement. It is never wholly attained but provides the motive force for our progressive movement towards it. We have, therefore, not so much to decide whether all men and women can actually attain the ideal but to judge whether the ideal itself is worthy of our devotion and service—the ideal of a strenuous life which rejects self-indulgence and utilize the resources of a fully developed individuality for the attainment of great and noble purposes. It is only the incorrigible epicurean or the unbending determinist who would reject the ideal as undesirable or impracticable. But there may be others whose doubts are based on psychological grounds—

1. *Javid Nama*, p. 230.

that is, whether human nature can bear the strain of living on such a high plane of thought and endeavour. Two considerations must be borne in mind in deciding this issue. Firstly, great human ideals have a powerful dynamic, almost explosive, quality which has, in the past, successfully transformed not only the character of individuals but the destinies of whole nations. The remarkable flowering and expansion of the Arab genius under the inspiration of the Prophet's teaching is one instance in point. The gigantic reconstruction of the entire structure of social, cultural, and economic life in Soviet Russia or China—whether one approves or disapproves of it—and the heroic efforts to produce a new type of co-operative, and 'collectivist' human being provide another kind of instance. Both indicate how, under the impulse of a new and dynamic idea, many of the obstacles which appear insuperable to the timid reformist fall away and life takes on a new meaning and a new direction. Secondly, we must not lose sight of the tremendous influence which a planned economic and cultural environment can exert on human nature, in comparison with which even the powerful effects of heredity seem less important. Discussing the comparative significance of heredity and environment in the shaping of human nature in his book, *New Roads to Progress*, Schmalhausen raises the issue : "What we want to know is whether social systems have been barbarous, predatory, fiendishly inhuman *because* 'human nature' is inherently and irremediably cruel and evil, *or* the other way around, namely, that men have proved themselves, thus far in human history, monsters of iniquity because the institutions that surrounded them in childhood, as in maturity, superimposed upon their plastic and credulous minds a set of values, a repertory of habits, a theory of reality that limited human response, thus cultivating a type of personality that was under a cultural *compulsion* to be narrow-hearted and narrow-minded." After carefully weighing the evidence provided by the psychologists and the anthropologists, he comes to the conclusion that "man's instincts and impulses,

his drives and motivations, his mechanisms and goals are all profoundly affected, shaped, rearranged, given their orientation, in *society*, by institutions and forces that are infinitely more potent for good and evil than can possibly be imagined to be the case if men's private Ego is presumed to be the centre and originator of human psychology." On the whole even allowing for the impressive array of Galtonian evidence, this appears to be a reasonable view of the part played by society in moulding the character and conduct of the individual, though Iqbal would no doubt assign to the Ego a more important place than is implied in the above quotation. He would, however, agree with Schmalhausen's further remark that "only with the *conscious* inauguration of a civilization and a culture that deliberately selects certain tendencies and dispositions for general cultivation can we ever really know what the true relation is between the range of human potentiality and a favouring social environment." He would also whole-heartedly endorse the remark that "there is much talent and genius in the human society than any society has (so far) provided conditions and incentives for evoking; there is immeasurably more humaneness in the human heart than any primitive or civilized environment has yet tapped". Thus the achievement of excellence depends both on the ideology inspiring individual and collective conduct and the social environment provided for its development. Iqbal fervently believes that a progressive interpretation of the ideals of Islam in the light of modern conditions and problems can provide the motive force and inspiration for a radical reconstruction of individual and social life, and that, in the social order envisaged by Islam, it is possible to set into motion incentives and forces which will orient its development in the direction of these ideals. We shall now proceed to consider briefly the outstanding features of the Islamic social order and study their implications for education.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIAL ORDER OF ISLAM

WE have so far mainly concerned ourselves with the education of the individual as envisaged by Iqbal. But the individual is only one pole of the process of education; the entire social order, together with the world of Nature which environs it, is the other pole. The function of education is to bring about a dynamic and progressive interaction between them with the object of adjusting them to each other. The school—using that term to include all kinds of educational institutions—is only one of the numerous factors which determine the course and direction of the individual's development; it is even more powerfully and irresistibly influenced by the nature of the environing society and the ideology which inspires its group relationships and its social, political and economic life. We have, therefore, to address ourselves to another problem of fundamental importance: What is the conception of the social order implicit in Iqbal's thought? What kind of society does he visualize in which the fully developed individual will be able to play his part effectively, without being frustrated at every step by adverse social conditions? Or, to put the question in a positive form: What is the social order which will favour and stimulate the growth of such an individual? For, as we have seen, the development of the individual does not take place in a vacuum or only under the academic influence of the school; it is the result of all the various forces—natural and cultural—that play on him. In these days when all kinds of radical experiments in the reconstruction of social and economic life are being tried in different parts of the world, the nature of the social order has become the most lively and controversial issue of the modern age. No account of Iqbal's educational philosophy can be complete unless we examine it carefully.

In the attempt to analyse this social order, the sources of Iqbal's inspiration must be looked for in the teachings of Islam. "Holding that the full development of the individual presupposes a society," remarks Nicholson in his preface to the *Secrets of the Self*, "he finds the ideal society in what he considers to be the Prophet's conception of Islam. Every Muslim, in striving to make himself a more perfect individual, is helping to establish the Islamic kingdom of God on Earth." Before analysing the significant features of this 'ideal society' we must first dispose of a question which has often been raised: Is Iqbal's desire to resurrect the values of Islam a reactionary step, a counsel of obscurantism? The question demands an unbiased and dispassionate examination of the social values of Islam and a mental readiness to take them on their merits—not rejecting them merely because they are old and derive their sanction from religion, nor accepting them unquestioningly on the same ground, but evaluating them with reference to the existing social conditions and problems.

Iqbal stresses the fact of change and the dynamic nature of human society:

سفر زندگی کے لئے برگ و ساز ۔ سفر ہے حقیقت حضر ہے مجاز

> Movement gives colour and meaning to life,
> Movement is reality, rest is an illusion.[1]

But he has, at the same time, a due sense of historic continuity and is neither impatient of the past merely because it is old, nor carried away by anything merely because it is new. "We should not forget," he remarks, "that life is not change pure and simple. It has within it elements of conservation also. The spirit of man in his forward movement is restrained by

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 171.

forces which seem to be working in the opposite direction. This is only another way of saying that life moves with the weight of its own past on its back and that, in any view of social change, the value and function of the forces of conservatism cannot be lost sight of . . . No people can afford to reject their past entirely ; for it is their past that has made their personal identity." This, however, is only an argument for *not* rejecting summarily the experience and institutions of the past ; for the acceptance and affirmation of Islamic institutions as valuable for the modern age he has positive reasons to offer. When he was criticized for narrowing down his vision from the world of mankind to the world of Islam, he replied : "The object of my Persian poems is *not* to 'plead' for Islam. Really I am keenly interested in the search for a better social order ; and, in this search, it is simply impossible to ignore an actually existing social system the main object of which is to abolish all distinction of race, caste and colour." He was most anxious that the future social order should be built on the broadest humanistic foundations, rejecting race, caste and colour which have always been dividing factors. So he welcomed and preached the social values of Islam because, according to him, they constitute the strongest bulwark against the rising tide of racialism and nationalism and because, in their essence, they provide the greatest guarantee and hope of a society based on the principles of equality, social justice and human brotherhood.

Before analysing the social order which Iqbal desires to bring into being, it is necessary to form some idea of the social order which held sway over Arabia and many other Eastern countries before the advent of the Prophet ! for it is only against this gloomy background that we can properly appreciate the revolutionary nature of the social theory preached by him to a world without hope. Iqbal describes the wretched condition of man before the advent of Islam in these words :

بود انساں در جہاں انساں پرست   ناکس و نابود مند و زیر دست

سطوتِ کسرے و قیصر رہزنش   بندہا در دست و پا و گردنش

کاہن و پاپا و سلطان و امیر   بہر یک نخچیر صد نخچیر گیر

از غلامی فطرتِ او دوں شدہ   نغمہ ہا اندر نئے او خوں شدہ

Man, weak, oppressed and powerless, worshipped man,
The mighty rulers of the world waylaid him put him into fetters!

The pope and the priest, the king and the nobles
All combined to exploit this poor victim!
Slavery had so degraded him
That the music in his flute had turned into blood. [1]

A modern European historian of civilization has given a vivid description of the state of the civilized world—about the time when Islam appeared on the stage of history—in words which Iqbal quotes with approval:

"It seemed then that the great civilization that it had taken four thousand years to construct was on the verge of destruction and that mankind was likely to return to that condition of barbarism where every tribe and sect was against the next, and law and order were unknown. The old tribal sanctions had lost their power . . . The new sanctions created by Christianity were working divisions and destruction instead of unity and order. It was a time fraught with tragedy . . . Was there any emotional culture that could be brought in to gather mankind once more into unity and to save civilization? This culture must be something of a new type, for the old sanctions and ceremonials were dead, and to build up others of the same kind would be the work of centuries."

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, p. 119.

The writer then goes on to point out that the salvation of the world, at that juncture, depended on the emergence of a new culture that could replace the existing 'throne-cultures' whose systems of unification were based on the idea of blood-relationship. He notes with amazement that such a culture should have arisen in Arabia. But Iqbal makes the illuminating observation that "there is nothing amazing in the phenomenon. The world-life intuitively sees its own needs and at critical movements defines its own direction. It is only natural that Islam should have flashed across the consciousness of a simple people untouched by any of the existing cultures and occupying a geographical position where three continents meet together".

Let us now try to understand the outstanding features of this new social and cultural order which emerged triumphantly at this critical juncture in history. Iqbal points out that the social order of Islam "finds the foundation of world-unity in the principle of *Tawhid* (faith in the Unity of God) and Islam as a religion is only a practical means of making the principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God and not to the throne. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature." The ethical and psychological change involved in this new vision is tremendously significant because it implies the recognition of the infinite worth of *every* individual in the Kantian sense, and the rejection of blood-relationship as the basis of human unity—blood-relationship which in the words of Iqbal is essentially 'earth-rootedness'. "The search for a purely psychological foundation of human unity becomes possible," he explains, "only with the perception that all human life is spiritual in its origin. Such a perception is creative of fresh loyalties without any ceremonial to keep them alive and makes it possible for man to emancipate himself from the earth." Thus the principle of *Tawhid*, viewed psychologically, seeks to restore to a torn and divided world its

integral unity and offers an impetus to resolve the dualisms which have always tended to arrest the development of balanced thinking. It also brings in its wake, as actually happened in the early period of Islamic history, a new sense of freedom and courage and release from various kinds of irrational fears and superstitions. It provides a rallying point for the diverse interests and groups comprised within the Islamic Society. But Iqbal deplores the fact that "the pure brow of *Tawhid* has received . . . an impress of heathenism-and the universal and impersonal character of the ethical ideals of Islam has been lost through a process of localisation. The only alternative open to us then is to tear off from Islam the hard crust which has immobilized an essentially dynamic outlook on life and to rediscover the original verities of freedom, equality and solidarity with a view to rebuild our moral, social and political ideals out of their original simplicity and universality." In his *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, he elucidates the implications of this principle :

اینکه در صد سینه پیچد یک نفس — سرّے از اسرارِ توحید است و بس
یک شو و توحید را مشهود کن — غائبش را از عمل موجود کن
دین ازو حکمت ازو آئین ازو — زور ازو قوّت ازو تمکیں ازو
قدرتِ اُو برگزیند بنده را — نوعِ دیگر آفریند بنده را
بیم و شک میرد عمل گیرد حیات — چشم می بیند ضمیرِ کائنات
لا اله سرمایهٔ اسرارِ ما — رشته اش شیرازهٔ افکارِ ما

What is it that infuses one breath in a hundred hearts?
It is one of the secrets of faith in *Tawhid*!
Be united and thus make *Tawhid* visible;
Realize its latent meaning in action!
Faith and Wisdom and Law all spring from it,
It is the source of strength and power and stability!
Its power exalts the nature of man
And makes him an entirely new being!
Fear and doubt die out; action becomes alive!
The eye can look into the heart of the Universe!
"There is no god but God" is the capital of our life!
Its bond weaves our scattered thoughts together![1]

The extraordinary and remarkable personality of Prophet Muhammad provides another important focus of loyalties for the growing polity of Islam and this emotional attitude has proved a powerful means for transforming the Muslims into a vital and unified community:

از رسالت در جهاں تکوینِ ما　　از رسالت دینِ ما آئینِ ما

از رسالت صد ہزارِ ما یک است　　جزوِ ما از جزوِ ما لاینفک است

ما ز حکمِ نسبتِ اُو ملتیم　　اہلِ عالم را پیامِ رحمتیم

دامنش از دست دادن مُردن است　　چوں گل از بادِ خزاں افسُردن است

از رسالت ہم نوا گشتیم ما　　ہم نفس ہم مدّعا گشتیم ما

فرد از حق، ملت از وے زندہ است　　از شعاعِ مہرِ اُو تابندہ است

"Prophethood is the basis of our organization, our religion and our law. It creates unity in our diversity and makes

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 105, 182-183.

> us into a well-knit community, which is meant to bring a message of peace for mankind. If we let go our hold of this unifying, life-giving conception, it means our death as a nation; for, it is this centre which has given us a dynamic unity of outlook and purpose. It is truth that keeps the individual alive and attachment to the Prophet which keeps the community well-knit and dynamic and illumined by his light."[1]

But the real significance of Muhammad's prophethood lies in the nature of the *message* which he offered to mankind enslaved in cruel bonds of its own making—a message of freedom, social equality and human brotherhood, an affirmation, in unequivocal terms, of complete equality of social status and legal rights. It restored the full status of citizenship to those who had been deprived of their human rights on grounds of race or colour or sex or social and economic circumstances. It was a living affirmation of faith in social democracy so far as it was practicable at the time. To the priest-ridden, wealth-dominated world, divided into numerous warring cliques, it gave a new set of values and offered liberation to mankind, particularly to the poorer and the oppressed sections which had been mercilessly exploited by the rich and the usurpers of political power.

He points out how Islam gave back to the people their natural rights, raised the status of the workers and weakened the power of the usurpers. The idols of wealth and caste and race were broken and a new hope surged in the heart of man. Freedom had a new birth, freedom of the body and of the mind:

حریت زاد از ضمیر پاک او   این مے نوشین چکید از تاک او

ناشکیب امتیازات آمده   در نهاد او مساوات آمده

عصر نو کاین صد چراغ آورده است   چشم در آغوش او وا کرده است

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 116-17.

Liberty took its birth from its gracious message,
This sweet wine dripped from its grapes !
It was impatient of invidious distinctions.
Equality was implicit in its being !
The modern age, which has kindled a hundred lamps,
Has opened its eyes in its lap.[1]

This principle of social equality and justice, this holding of the scales even between the rich and the poor, between the powerful and the weak, was to a large extent realized in practice. It was embodied in religious observances and everyday social practices. The history of Islam is full of incidents in which the rights of the ordinary man were triumphantly vindicated against the might of powerful adversaries. Iqbal narrates the story of Sultan Murad who had the arm of an architect amputated because his work had failed to please him. The architect filed a suit in the court of the Qazi against this cruelty, saying :

عبدِ مسلم کمتر از احرار نیست . خونِ شہ رنگیں تر از معمار نیست

"The Muslim, though a bondsman, is not inferior to the man who is free,
Nor is the King's blood redder than a masons's."

And the Qazi sentenced the Emperor to the penalty prescribed in law and in this way

یافت مورے بر سلیمانے ظفر سطوتِ آئینِ پیغمبر نگر
پیشِ قرآں بندہ و مولا یکے است بوریا و مسندِ دیبا یکے است

The ant triumphed over Sulaiman !
Behold the power of the Prophet's law !
The master and the slave
Are equal before the law of the Quran
And the silk carpet has no superiority over the mat !

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, p. 120.

Thus the social order, contemplated by Islam, throws the weight of its legislation and its sanctions towards redressing injustices and inequalities and tends to side with the weak against the strong. By its essentially democratic spirit and by cutting across the social and economic divisions of society it has favoured the mobility of social intercourse and, in its progressive phases, arrested the stratification of society into mutually exclusive groups. Any social order which rejects or ignores these conditions of social health would militate against the vision of society implicit in Iqbal's thought.

On the political side, this social order definitely rejects the claims of racial and geographical factors to dictate and circumscribe people's loyalties. The exaggerated emphasis laid in this age, on territorial nationalism and aggressive patriotism is mischievous because it militates against the international outlook of Islam and disrupts the essential solidarity of mankind. It strikes at the root of political sanity and has resulted in widespread bloodshed, destruction and unjust persecutions which embitter the present political situation. Iqbal looks upon geographical and racial groupings as, at best, a temporary and makeshift political organization and, at the worst, as responsible for all sorts of political evils, oppressions and conflicts. One of his *bete noires* is Machiavelli who raised the State to the position of an absolute deity and openly preached the subordination of moral and ethical principles to political expediency :

آں فلارنساوی باطل پرست　　سرمۂ اُو دیدۂ مردم شکست

نسخۂ بہرِ شہنشاہاں نوشت　　در گلِ ما دانۂ پیکار کشت

بتگری مانندِ آذر پیشہ اش　　بست نقشِ تازۂ اندیشہ اش

مملکت را دینِ اُو معبُود ساخت   فکرِ اُو مذموم را محمُود ساخت

بوسہ تا بر پائے ایں معبُود زد   نقدِ حق را بر عیارِ سُود زد

That Florentine worshipper of Untruth,
Blinded the eyes of man with his antimony!
He wrote a new code for the guidance of rulers
And sowed the seed of wars in our clay?
Like *Azar* his occupation was idol-making,
His mind fashioned new patterns (of mischief)!
His religion made the State into a deity
And presented what was evil as good!
He kissed the feet of this deity
And tested truth on the criterion of profit![1]

The pernicious practice of subjecting all values and loyalties to the interests of a particular race or nation was vigorously revived in recent decades by the reactionary political systems of Fascism and Nazism. Condemning all such tendencies, Iqbal says:

آں چناں قطعِ اخوّت کردہ اند   بر وطن تعمیرِ ملّت کردہ اند

تا وطن را شمعِ محفل ساختند   نوعِ انساں را قبائل ساختند

مردمی اندر جہاں افسانہ شد   آدمی از آدمی بیگانہ شد

روح از تن رفت و ہفت اندام ماند   آدمیت گم شد و اقوام ماند

They have undermined foundations of brotherhood
And established nationality on the basis of the country!
When they made this idea the assembly's lamp,
Mankind split up into warring tribes!
'Humanity' became but a legend,

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, p. 134.

And man a stranger to man!
The soul fled from the body,
Only the outer forms remained!
Mankind disappeared from the earth,
Only separate nations remained![1]

The consequences of worshipping idols of race, colour and nation are too obvious to need any detailed examination. Are we not living today in a veritable hell of their making?

فکرِ انساں بُت پرستے بُت گرے ۔ ہر زماں در جستجوئے پیکرے
بازطرحِ آذری انداخت است ۔ تازہ تر پروردگارے ساخت است
کاید از خوں ریختن اندر طرب ۔ نام اُو رنگ است وہم ملک و نسب
آدمیّت کشتہ شد چوں گوسفند ۔ پیشِ پائے ایں بُت ناارجمند

The mind of man is ever making and worshipping idols,
Ever in the quest for new forms!
He has again revived the traditions of *Azar*,
And fashioned yet another deity!
This deity is thrilled by the shedding of blood,
It is variously named as colour and race and country!
Mankind has been slaughtered like sheep
At the altar of this inauspicious Idol![2]

As against these forces, which exploit hatred and provoke antagonisms, Islam seeks to establish the community of mankind not on geographical accidents but on belief in one God and, consequently, in the brotherhood of man as a practical working idea. Such an idea alone, Iqbal holds, can act as a centrifugal force and break down the division of mankind into militant camps. From the political and secular point of view, he interprets the Islamic society as a social order open to all who would renounce the worship of the race-and-nation idea

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, p. 133.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

and acknowledge one another's personality as sacred. Hence the internationalism of Islam categorically rejects all territorial or racial patriotisms :

قلبِ ما از ہند و روم و شام نیست   مرز و بومِ اُو بجز اسلام نیست

مسلم استی دل باقلیمے مبند   گم مشو اندر جہانِ چون و چند

دل بدست آور کہ در پہنائے دل   می شود گم این سرائے آب و گل

Our heart is bound neither to Syria nor Turkey nor Ind,
Its birth-place is nought but Islam !
Thou art a Muslim ; do not bind thy heart to any country,
Do not lose thyself in this world of dialectic !
Win over the hearts, for within its wide expanse,
This whole universe of water and clay can lose itself ! [1]

He offers an interesting interpretation of *Hijrat* (the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina). This transfer of his domicile to Medina suggests that mere geographical ties meant nothing to him and they should mean nothing to the Muslims.

عقدۂ قومیّتِ مسلم کشود   از وطن آقائے ما ہجرت نمود

حکمتش یک ملّتِ گیتی نورد   بر اساسِ کلمہ تعمیر کرد

تا ز بخشش ہائے آں سلطانِ دیں   مسجدِ ما شد ہمہ رُوئے زمیں

صورتِ ماہی بہ بحر آباد شو   یعنی از قیدِ مقام آزاد شو

ہر کہ از قیدِ جہات آزاد شد   چوں فلک در شش جہت آباد شد

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 129-30.

The Prophet migrated from his birth-place,
And thus revealed the secret of the Muslim's nationalism!
His wisdom established a world-encircling community
On the foundations of the 'Kalima'!
By the grace of his overflowing bounty
The whole earth became a mosque for us!
Live in the ocean like the fish,
Freed from the fetters of locality:
He, who frees himself from the prison house of directions,
Becomes all-pervasive like the sky![1]

It is hardly necessary to point out that, in this unequivocal rejection of the idea of territorial nationalism, Iqbal is in accord with some of the greatest and keenest social and political thinkers of the modern age who believe that, unless there is a reorientation of political loyalties and the world is organized for peace, education and other social influences will fail to produce any far-reaching and fundamental change for the better.

This raises another question of considerable interest. What is Iqbal's attitude towards patriotism, which has always held up as a virtue that education should try to inculcate? Patriotism as an uncompromising political creed which believes in "My Country—right or wrong" and fails to give due recognition to the wider claims of the world community is obviously repugnant to the spirit of internationalism for which Islam stands and which Iqbal advocates. But patriotism, as love for the best that one's own country or group has achieved, as an appreciation for its special cultural values and contributions, is a sentiment of great value. Iqbal has been wrongly accused by some critics of a lack of patriotism. As a matter of fact, he values genuine patriotism so highly that, in his *Javid-Nama* he reserves the severest tortures of hell for Mir Jafar of Bengal and Nawab Sadiq of the Deccan who were traitors to their country and, by siding with foreigners, helped them to deprive it of political liberty. He describes them with passionate feeling as a "disgrace to their country and their

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, p. 131.

religion and to the whole of mankind". Hell itself is unwil-ing to receive them so that the poet has to relegate them t the worst possible place—*Qulzum-i-Khunin* (Ocean of Blood in *Falak-i-Zuhal*.

In the form of a conversation between *Zinda Rood* (Th Living Stream) and Sultan Tipu he expresses in moving word his deep love for India, which is an effective rejoinder to il informed critics who doubt his patriotic fervour.

باز گو از ہند و از ہندوستاں   آنکہ با کاہش نیرزد بوستاں

آنکہ اندر مسجدش ہنگامہ مُرد   آنکہ اندر دیر اُو آتش فسرد!

آنکہ دل از بہرِ اُو خوں کردہ ایم   آنکہ یادش را بجاں پروردہ ایم!

از غمِ ما کُن غمِ اُو را قیاس   آہ ازاں معشوقِ عاشق ناشناس!

Speak again of the country of Ind—
Whose blade of grass is more precious than a garden!
Whose mosques alas are silent like the grave,
Whose temples are cold and without fire!
My heart still bleeds for love of this land,
Its memory is dear as life itself!
Imagine its grief from the depth of our own—
Alas for the beloved who knows not the lover![1]

In *Zarb-i-Kalim* there is a poem of arresting beauty *Shu'a-i-Ummid* (The Ray of Hope) in which he speaks of India in these loving words:

خاور کی اُمیدوں کا یہی خاک ہے مرکز   اقبال کے اشکوں سے یہی خاک ہے سیراب!

چشمِ مہ و پرویں ہے اسی خاک سے روشن   یہ خاک کہ ہے جس کا خزف ریزہ دُرِ ناب!

1. *Javid Nama*, p. 212.

اس خاک سے اٹھے ہیں وہ غواصِ معانی — جن کے لئے ہر بحرِ پُر آشوب ہے پایاب!
جس ساز کے نغموں سے حرارت تھی دلوں میں — محفل کا وہی ساز ہے بیگانۂ مضراب!
بُت خانے کے دروازہ پہ سوتا ہے برہمن — تقدیر کو روتا ہے مسلماں تہِ محراب!
مشرق سے ہو بیزار نہ مغرب سے حذر کر — فطرت کا اشارہ ہے کہ ہر شب کو سحر کر!

This is the land, centre of the hopes of the East,
This is the land, watered by Iqbal's tears!
This is the land, light of the eyes of the moon and stars,
Whose shells are precious as the finest pearls!
From this land have emerged those profound thinkers
For whom every storm-tossed ocean is shallow!
The musical strings that warmed the assembly's heart,
Are now, alas, silent and unthrummed!
The Brahman is asleep on the threshold of the temple,
The Muslim laments his fate under the arch of the mosque!
Turn away neither from the East nor from the West,
Nature beckons you to turn every night into day![1]

This social order, again, does not—like the Christian social order, as generally understood—stand for an "other-wolrdly *Weltanschauung*, a theory of saintliness that believes in torturing the body and be-devilling the mind in behalf of soul's salvation". It is not indifferent to the world of matter but, as we have seen already, it seeks to exploit it vigorously for worthy purposes. While both these social orders are inspired by a desire for the "affirmation of the spiritual self in man", the Christian theory advocates a turning away from the material world and is anxious for the "revelation of a new world in the soul of man". Islam, on the other hand, boldly says "Yes" to the world of matter and accepts it with all

1. *Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 107.

its limitations and risks. It does not, as we have seen, rega the ideal and the real as two opposing forces which cann be reconciled. It is the "mysterious touch of the ideal th animates and sustains the real, and through it alone we c discover and affirm the ideal. The life of the ideal consi not in a total breach with the real, which would tend shatter the organic wholeness of life, but in the endeavour the ideal to appropriate the real with a view eventually absorb it and to convert it into itself and to illuminate whole being".[1] This difference in the outlook of the tv social orders accounts for their respective attitude towar science. In the days of its unquestioned ascendanc Christianity frowned upon science and allowed the persecutic of the scientific spirit to be carried on in its name with th result that, in the early Middle Ages, Europe found itse plunged into intellectual darkness. The civilization of Islar on the other hand, stimulated and encouraged the pursuit science to a remarkable degree, so much so that, according Briffault, the famous historian of civilization, "Science is th most momentous contribution of Arab civilization to th modern world. Nowhere is this [*i.e.*, the decisive influence c Islamic culture] so clear and momentous as in the genesis c that power which constitutes the distinctive force of th modern world and the supreme source of its victory—natura science and the scientific spirit."

It is, therefore, essential that the social order of Islar should actively exploit the forces of modern science an thereby gain effective control of its material environment—th *'Alam-i-Afaq*. Iqbal makes it quite clear in his *Rumuz-i Bekhudi* that the full development of national life is impossibl without the cultivation of science and its utilization for th many purposes which a nation has in view.

ہر کہ محسوسات را تسخیر کرد — عالمے از ذرۂ تعمیر کرد

1. *Lectures*, p. 9.

کوہ و صحرا دشت و دریا بحر و بر — تختۂ تعلیمِ اربابِ نظر
اے کہ از تاثیرِ افیوں خفتۂ — عالمِ اسباب را دُوں گفتۂ
غایتش توسیعِ ذاتِ مسلم است — امتحانِ ممکناتِ مسلم است
گیر اُو را تا نہ اُو گیرد ترا — ہمچو مے اندر سبو گیرد ترا
تا ز تسخیرِ قوائے ایں نظام — ذوفنونیہائے تو گردد تمام
نائبِ حق در جہاں آدم شود — بر عناصر حکمِ اُو محکم شود
دستِ رنگیں کن ز خونِ کوہسار — جوئے آبِ گوہر از دریا برآر
تابش از خورشیدِ عالمتاب گیر — برقِ طاق افروز از سیلاب گیر
جستجو را محکم از تدبیر کن — انفس و آفاق را تسخیر کن
آنکہ بر اشیا کمند انداخت است — مرکب از برق و حرارت ساخت است

Whoever conquers the world of matter
Can build a world out of a speck of dust !
The hills and the deserts, the rivers, the plains—
They are all means of education for those with a vision !
You, who have been put to sleep under opium's norcotic ;
Regard this world of cause and effect as contemptible !
Its real purpose is the expansion of the Muslim's personality
And a testing of his hidden possibilities !
Conquer it, or it may conquer you

And hold you as the flagon holds the wine!
So that through the control of all its forces
Your manifold capacities may attain perfection !
So that man becomes the vicegerent of God,
Laying down the law for all the elements !
Dip your hands in the blood of the mountains,
Extract the bright pearls from the bosom of the sea !
Take from the Sun its bright lustre,
And from the flood the lightning that illumines the palace!
Press intelligence into the service of your quest ;
And conquer the world of the matter and the spirit !
He who controls the world of matter,
Can make lightning and heat into his chariot ! [1]

Can there be a clearer advocacy of science as an essential factor in the organization of education and of life ? Iqbal insisted on it so strongly, because he realized that one of the main causes responsible for the decline and decadence of the Muslim peoples has been their neglect of science which has arrested their intellectual growth and weakened their political and economic position which, in this age, is mainly dependent on scientific power. Education must, therefore, endeavour to make good this deficiency and not only teach science but also develop the 'scientific temper.'

Lastly, this social order must be a *dynamic* order, keenly alive and responsive to the basic fact of change and the formative forces that are playing on it constantly. Life is in a state of flux—it is a perpetual change, a state of motion. Iqbal brings out this idea in the words of Tipu Sultan addressed to the River Kaveri :

اے من تو موجے از دو رِحیات　　　هر نفس دیگر شود این کائنات !
زندگانی انقلاب هر دمے است　　　زانکه او اندر سراغ عالمے است!

تار و پودِ هر وجود از رفت و بود　　　این همه ذوقِ نمود از رفت و بود

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 165-68.

جادہ ہا چوں رہرواں اندر سفر ہر کجا پنہاں سفر پیدا سفر
کاروان و ناقہ و دشت و نخیل ہر چہ بینی نالد از درد رحیل!

You and I are but waves in the stream of life;
Every instant this Universe is in flux!
Life is changing at every intake of breath,
For it is ever in the quest of a new world!
The web and woof of every being is from motion;
All this urge for growth is derived from motion!
Not only the wayfarers but the courses, too, are in motion,
Everywhere there is motion, hidden or revealed!
The caravan and the camel, the desert and the oasis,
Whatever you see is restless with the pain of motion![1]

Such a dynamic conception of society is a natural corollary of the view of life and the universe taken by Islam which we have already discussed. In his *Lectures*, Iqbal devotes a whole chapter to the "Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam", in which he discusses the doctrine of *Ijtihad* and attempts to strike the correct balance between the categories of permanence and change. "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam," he explains, "is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life; for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change." At the same time he points out that "eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change, which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest signs of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature . . . The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems."[2] This implies the right of exercising *Ijtihad*—inde-

1. *Javid Nama*, p. 216.

2. *Lectures*, p. 140.

pendent judgment and interpretation of religious law in the light of changed and changing circumstances—which Iqbal holds to be essential for the healthy growth of religious thought in Islam. He disagrees with those doctors of law who would deny this right to the present-day Muslims. "The closing of the door of Ijtihad," he contends, "is pure fiction, suggested partly by the crystallization of legal thought in Islam and partly by that intellectual laziness which, specially in periods of spiritual decay, turns great thinkers into idols. If some of the later doctors have upheld this fiction, modern Islam is not bound by this voluntary surrender of intellectual independence. It is, therefore, necessary that the social order of Islam should not be allowed to become static, sticking to the letter that killeth and ignoring the dynamic spirit that keepeth alive."[1] A study of history reveals that every social order becomes static and lifeless when intellectual initiative and independent thinking become atrophied and people cling to the old and outworn ideas and forms because they have not the courage to face, and experiment with, new ones. According to Iqbal, the social order of Islam must always remain responsive to the material and cultural forces that play upon it from time to time. The concluding sentences of his letter, which forms the frontispiece of this book, may well be repeated here because they stress the essentially dynamic and meliorative nature of human society as envisaged by Islam:

Time is a great blessing. (لا تسبو الدهر ان الدهر هو الله) While it kills and destroys it also expands and brings out the hidden possibilities of things. The possibility of change is the greatest asset of man in his present surroundings."

[1] *Lectures*, p. 169.

CHAPTER IX

A CREATIVE VISION OF EDUCATION

IT is obviously the duty of the Muslims to translate the ideals of this progressive and humane social order into actual space-time forces and thus help to arrest the insane destruction, conflicts and injustices which characterize the modern age. Iqbal appeals to the Muslims, primarily, to take the lead in this reconstruction because he believes that, by virtue of their religious and philosophical tradition, they can appreciate and sympathize with these ideals and values. But he does not want them to hide their light under a bushel; he exhorts them to make it universal, for universality is a characteristic of all the creative ideas contributed by Islam for the betterment of the world :

اے کہ خوردستی زمینائے خلیل — گرمیٔ خونت ز صہبائے خلیل!

بر سرِ ایں باطلِ حق پیرہن — تیغِ لا موجود الا ھو بزن

جلوہ در تاریکیٔ ایّام کن — آنچہ بر تو کامل آمد عام کن

لرزم از شرمِ تو چوں روزِ شمار — پرسدت آں آبروئے روزگار

حرفِ حق از حضرتِ ما بردۂ — پس چرا با دیگراں نسپردۂ

You have drunk of the flagon of *Khaleel*,
Your blood is warmed up by his wine !
Strike the sword of "There is no god but God"
Over the head of this Untruth, masquerading as Truth !

Light up the darkness of this age,
Share with all what has been revealed to you in full measure!
I tremble to think of your shame when, on the Judgment Day,
God will put you the question:
"You learnt the word of Truth from Us,
Why did you fail to pass it on to others?"[1]

How is this "word of Truth" to be successfully communicated to the growing generation of Muslims and others? It is in this communication and creation of better values that education must play a part, as it is the most powerful 'telic' force at our disposal for this purpose. But it must be an education which is thoroughly permeated and vitalized by the spirit and the ideals inspiring this cultural and social order. We have already discussed the basic principles of this education and can now proceed to build up a synthetic picture of its most significant features.

It will be, primarily, a dynamic and creative education directed to the releasing and nurturing of the creative spirit in man and equipping him with the desire and capacity to conquer new realms of art and science, knowledge and power—an education inspired by an optimistic faith in the destiny of man. Science will naturally occupy a prominent place in it, so that man may not only gain sovereignty over Nature but also control over the scientific method through which he can explore and consciously reconstruct his world. It will not, however, allow a pseudo-scientific attitude of scepticism to reject the values enshrined in History, which links up the past with the present and gives a living continuity to the life and culture of the community. For, as Iqbal puts it:

سرگذشتِ اُوگر از یادش رود   باز اندر نیستی گُم می شوُد

If it forgets the story of its past,
It lapses into non-existence.

Nor will it set up a false and mischievous antithesis between

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 163-64.

the values represented by Science and Religion. On this point Iqbal is quite definite and emphatic. While keenly aware of the practical and intellectual significance of science in modern life, and consequently in education, he realizes that science takes sectional snapshots of Reality and represents but one method of apprehending it. By itself it cannot give man a full, complete and emotionally satisfying picture of Reality. Religion, on the other hand, "demands the whole of Reality and, for this reason, must occupy a central place in any synthesis of all the data of human experience". It is, therefore, a necessary *complement* of the view gained through science, *not* opposed to it. It must, on that account, be given a prominent place in education. It is the most powerful source of that idealism and intuitive love of humanity which ensures that man will use his tremendous powers, nor for evil but for good.

بے ہنر داں نزدِ بے دیں ہم قلم ہم تیغ را
چوں نباشد دیں نباشد کلک و آہن راثمن

For the man without Faith,
The pen and the sword are alike worthless!
When there is no Faith
Neither the pen nor the sword have any value![1]

'Experience shows,' Iqbal points out, 'that truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring. That is the reason why pure thought has so little influenced men, while religion has always elevated individuals and transformed whole societies.'[2] And even today, religion "which, in its higher manifestations, is neither dogma nor priesthood nor ritual, can alone prepare modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retain it hereafter. It is only by raising to a fresh

1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, p. 171.
2. *Lectures*, p. 170.

vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by an inner conflict of religious and political values."[1] This is an inspiring vision of the place of Religion in life and it demands that our education should be thoroughly imbued with the religious spirit.

But it should be realized that this religious education will be radically different, in form and content, from what usually passes under the name today. It does not take into account or show any interest or understanding or appreciation of modern, social, political, scientific and philosophical problems. Iqbal draws a vivid and stirring contrast between religion which is a force of liberation and religion which confines itself to carrying out certain forms of worship and fetters intellectual and spiritual expansion of man's personality:

یا وسعتِ افلاک میں تکبیرِ مسلسل یا خاک کے آغوش میں تسبیح و مناجات

وہ مذہب مردانِ خود آگاہ و خدا مست یہ مذہب مُلّا و جمادات و نباتات!

Either a persistent exalting of the Lord's name
In the wide expanse of the heavens,
Or prayers and counting of the beads
In the lap of the earth:
That is the religion of God-intoxicated, self-conscious individuals,
This is the religion of the priests and plants and stones![2]

It is this first conception of religion—living nobly and adventurously in the name of the Lord—and not the priest's traditional conception which Iqbal would integrate into a living system of education.

Then, as we have already seen, it will be an education to

1. *Lectures*, p. 178. 2. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 196.

equip the student for a life of action, not one that would favour passive contemplation like the education that developed in many Eastern countries under the influence of some form of pseudo-mysticism and of political decadence. Contemplation, which paralyses the power of action instead of whetting it, which serves only as an 'ivory tower' of escape from the realities of life is worse than useless because it fails to develop. Individuality which is the objective of education and which can realize itself only in the strenuous life of action. The acquisition of 'passive' knowledge is wholly repugnant to the spirit of Islamic education. "The end of the Ego's quest," Iqbal holds, "is not emancipation from the limitations of Individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it. The final act is not an intellectual act but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the Ego and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely *seen* or *known* through concepts but something to be *made* and *remade* by continuous action."[1] From the ethical and psychological point of view, the greater importance of the action or the deed lies in the fact that while "a wrong concept misleads the understanding, a wrong deed degrades the man and may eventually demolish the structure of the human Ego. The mere concept affects life only partially; the deed is dynamically related to Reality." In this active inter-play of his powers with the forces of his complex environment, in this process of ceaseless reconstruction, man is constantly moulding and enriching his own individuality:

ذرۂ از کف مدہ تابے کہ ہست — پختہ گیر اندر گرہ تابے کہ ہست
تابِ خود را بر فزودن خوشتر است — پیشِ خورشید آزمودن خوشتر است

1. *Lectures*, p. 178.

پیکرِ فرسودہ را دیگر تراش : اِمتحانِ خویش کُن، موجود باش
ایں چنیں موجود محمود است و بس : ورنہ نارِ زندگی دُود است و بس

Art thou a mere particle of dust?
Tighten the knot of thy ego
And hold fast to thy tiny being!
How glorious to burnish one's ego
And to test its lustre in the presence of the Sun!
Rechisel then thy ancient frame,
And build up a new being!
Such being is real being
Or else thy ego is a mere ring of smoke![1]

Thus we return to the conception of man with which we started —man as an active agent, a doer, a shaper of purposes who is not only engaged in the reconstruction of his world but also in the far more significant experiment of creatively unfolding and perfecting his own individuality. This provides the justification for reaffirmation of our faith in methods of education which stimulate self-activity and cultivate the will to courageous effort in behalf of great causes.

Iqbal stresses the significance of Action because 'the technique of medieval mysticism' in the East had encouraged a wrong attitude of renunciation and made people contented with their political and intellectual slavery. But he scrupulously avoids the mistake of paying homage to the modern gospel of 'ruthless efficiency' and that constant preoccupation with trivial, pointless activity which entirely ignores the values of emotional poise and tranquillity and quiet appreciation. In his *Lectures* he makes a thoughtful distinction between the 'efficient' and the 'affective' self, which is of great significance for education. The efficient self, "enters into relation with what we call the world of space and time . . . and in its dealings with the external order of things . . . it lives as if it were

1. *Javid Nama*, pp. 14-15.

outside itself."[1] The activities of this 'efficient' self keep us constantly absorbed in the external order of things and often thrust the 'affective' or appreciative self into the background. "In our constant pursuit after external things," Iqbal explains, "we weave a kind of veil round the appreciative self which thus becomes completely alien to us. It is only in moments of profound meditation when the efficient self is in abeyance that we sink into our deeper self and reach the inner centre of experience." The recognition of this aspect of our self provides the psychological justification for Prayer which, as interpreted by Iqbal, is the most effective method of establishing a fruitful communion with one's *real* self and with God. "As a means of spiritual illumination it is a normal, vital act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation in the larger whole of life . . . and it must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature."[2] He further elucidates the meaning of Prayer in these words :

"It is an expression of man's inner yearning for a response in the awful silence of the Universe. It is a unique process of discovery whereby the searching ego affirms itself in the very moment of self-negation and thus discovers its own worth and justification as a dynamic factor in the life of the Universe."[3]

Thus, in the education which Iqbal's philosophy of action postulates, there is room for that communion with Self and with Nature which prepares one for spiritual communion with the Absolute or with God. It is in these moments of quiet communion, when overt action has ceased and we allow the mysterious influence and impulses of the world of Art and Nature to play on us, that our intuition and our emotions find genuine self-expression and our personality gains that inner poise and repose which is a source of true happiness and joy.

1. *Lectures*, p. 49.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Iqbal is here in agreement both with Bergson and with Tagore who believe such communion to be essential for the enrichment of our intuitive capacity.

Finally, this education must be conducted in the most liberal and broad-minded spirit so as to develop in youth an all-embracing 'humanism,' and a truly international outlook and to arrest the growth of narrow political, racial, sectional or geographical loyalties. While duly appreciative of the claims of group culture and group obligations it must act as a bulwark against the modern forces of obscurantism which, under the names of nationalism or patriotism or revivalism or blood and race or "carrying the white man's burden", are undermining international peace and setting at naught all principles of justice and human decency. Iqbal has an "imperative vision of the Divine in man"—in *all* men, irrespective of their particular labels—and, unlike Nietzsche, he is anxious to use the instrument of education so as to 'develop the Divine even in a plebeian and thus open up before him an infinite future.'[1]

Can education have a higher, and dare it remain content with a lower, ideal than this of discovering God in man, of developing God-like qualities in him and building up a world worthy of his habitation? This is Iqbal's challenge to mankind:

یہ عالم یہ ہنگامۂ رنگ و صوت　　یہ عالم کہ ہے زیر فرمانِ موت

یہ عالم یہ بت خانۂ چشم و گوش　　جہاں زندگی ہے فقط خورد و نوش

خودی کی یہ ہے منزلِ اوّلیں　　مسافر! یہ تیرا نشیمن نہیں

1. *Lectures*, p. 184.

بڑھے جا یہ کوہِ گراں توڑ کر
طلسمِ زمان و مکاں توڑ کر!

جہاں اور بھی ہیں ابھی بے نمُود
کہ خالی نہیں ہے ضمیرِ وجود

ہر اک منتظر تیری یلغار کا
تری شوخیِ فکر و کردار کا

یہ ہے مقصدِ گردشِ روزگار
کہ تیری خودی تجھ پہ ہو آشکا

تو ہے فاتحِ عالمِ خوب و زشت
تجھے کیا بتاؤں تری سرنوشت!

فروزاں ہے سینے میں شمعِ نفس
مگر تابِ گفتار کہتی ہے بس

"اگر یک سرِ موئے برتر پرم
فروغِ تجلّی بسوزد پرم"!

This world which is a riot of colour and sound,
This world which is under the sway of Death ;
This world which is an idol-house of sight and sound,
Where life is nought but eating and drinking—
It s only the first stage in the pilgrimage of the Ego,
Triaveller, it is not thy goal !
Forge ahead, shattering this great obstruction,
Conquering this illusion of space and time !
There are many worlds still unborn,
For the mind of creation is not a void !
All are awaiting thy triumphant advance,
And the subtlety of thy mind and action !
What is the purpose of this whirligig of Time ?
That thy Ego may be revealed to thee !
Thou art the conqueror of the world of Good and Evil,
I dare not reveal thy great destiny !
My heart is aflame with the light of inspiration,
But my power of speech cannot keep pace with !

"If I step further even by a hair's breath
The glaring light will burn up my soaring wings." [1]

The world is passing through a period of great spiritual travail and man has lost not only his bearings but even his basic moorings. Science has let loose on the world a mixed bag of boons and curses. The most fundamental truths on which man had built up whatever is gracious and valuable in his individual and collective life are being blatantly challenged in the name of new and unholy idols of race or colour or nationalism or particular political ideologies. The conflicts and tensions that have been generated have acquired such a momentum that they seem to have passed beyond human control, and statesmanship—if there is any such thing left—is unable to resolve them. Every increase of power—political or technological—is making the situation worse instead of improving it. Against the formidable resources that are today at the disposal of dictators and demagogues alike, the only long range defence is a humanized system of education, built up with love and patience and vision which will not be dazzled by superficial glitter or misdirected by false but easily achieved targets and objectives. In the building up of such a system and, even more, in gaining the right vision of such an education, the study of Iqbal's ideas can offer most valuable guidance. The world in general and India and Pakistan in particular—both of whom claim the honour of calling Iqbal their poet—will be infinitely richer and wiser if they could study dispassionately the message of this great humanist in whom the best elements of Muslim, Indian and modern Western thought find a happy fusion.

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, pp. 173-74.

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